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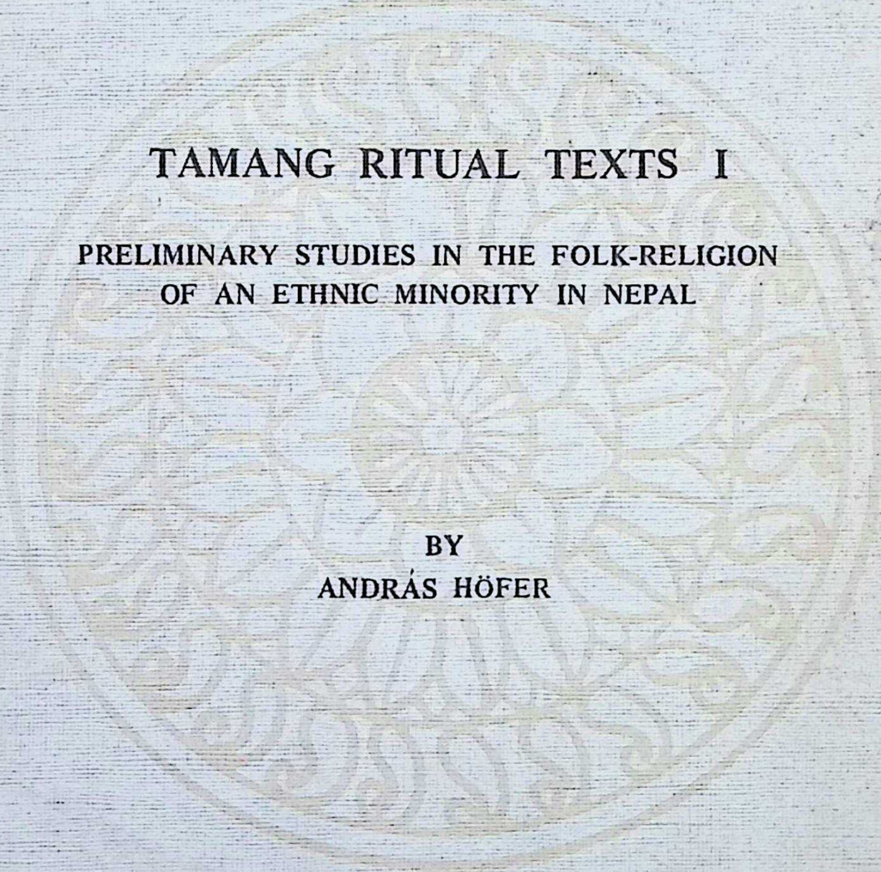

TAMANG RITUAL TEXTS I

PRELIMINARY STUDIES IN THE FOLK-RELIGION OF AN ETHNIC MINORITY IN NEPAL

BY
ANDRÁS HÖFER

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To
Alexander W. Macdonald
and Śer Bahādur Mamba Tāmāṅg

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Heidelberg, December 1980 A.H.

PREFACE

In this book I have tried to present the non-Buddhist religious tradition of a Western Tamang group in the light of oral texts. Instead of giving a systematic description (or what one may call such), I analyse some recitations.

These texts have been handed down from generation to generation and thus constitute the only solid core in a galaxis of individual opinions, as complex and as transient as an oral tradition may be. Yet this holds true of their form only. What these texts "mean" is, for a number of reasons, again a matter of individual interpretation. The reader may be warned that both the translation and the annotations are based on suggestions, often vague and contradictory, of a very few bearers of this tradition. I did spend a relatively long time among them; yet I might have misunderstood some of their information. I have thus been all the more hesitant in ordering their data and emending their texts.

It is debatable whether a longer period of fieldwork with more informants would have resulted in more certainty, and as long as this question remains unanswered, the present study fully deserves the adjective "preliminary" in its title.

The method may be regarded as an imitation of the philologist's approach to written texts. I follow this path for at least two reasons: (a) With a few laudable exceptions, anthropological studies of religion have not made much fuss about oral texts. They have rather tried to conceal the existence of divergent individual interpretations; at least they have tacitly assumed a substantially wider consensus about ideas, beliefs and meanings than is really the case. (b) To acknowledge the contrary would have been unfavourable to their aim at coining theories. My reserve against the lightheartedness with which we often process (an ugly word!) our data for models in the spirit of "structural" or "symbolic" anthropology was fully corroborated by my own field situation.

The translation of the texts proved difficult for the informants, too. Certainly, whatever they gave as an interpretation was to be taken into account as an authentic attempt to understand their own culture and thus as part and parcel of it. However, these interpretations were on the whole too subjective and fragmentary and therefore not a translation in the proper sense of the term. My personal experience with the ritual specialists in particular was discouraging. Their seriosity as believers and the psycho-physical input in performing their rituals are beyond any doubt, but I cannot help saying that their texts are a puzzle rather than a mystery. What I see in them are chips of meanings rather than the intersubjectively valid great Whole —

unless I risk confounding the unknown with the unconscious.

To say that this is the result of the acculturation Tamang tradition has been exposed to for about two centuries is to name just one of the reasons. The main reason seems to lie in the very nature of any oral tradition. As the Tamang experience suggests, there are virtually as many oral traditions as there are persons who admit *a tradition* as their own — without fully realizing that this is so. Their tacit fiction of the "unity" of a tradition, reinforced by a relative uniformity of ritual practices, plays down the contradictions in the meanings they, as individuals, draw from what they see and hear. This insight is perhaps the only thesis I contend throughout in this book; all other conclusions are merely comments on the texts.

In the present study, comparative analysis is kept to a minimum. The Tibetan equivalents of the Tamang expressions may give us an idea of what a tremendous task awaits anyone embarking on a larger-scale comparison. They have not been elaborated systematically since this is a task for the linguists and philologists. Their unique purpose is to elucidate a meaning and to throw some light on its historical provenance.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

Nepali is transliterated according to the method of R.L. Turner (1965), and Tibetan according to the Pelliot system.

As to Tamang, I have avoided a correct phonological transcription since an all too abstract presentation of the language is rather irritating for the reader.*

(1) In word-initial, I write the voiced consonants b, d, ḍ, j and g which are the realisations of the phonemes /p/, /t/, /ṭ/, /c/and /k/ preceding a breathy vowel in syllables with low-level or low-falling pitch.

(2) In other positions, I render the realisation of the above-mentioned phonemes regardless of pitch and vowel quality. Stems and suffixes are written together, and the assimilation of consonants is taken into account. I write, for example, khaba, 'to come', instead of kha-pa, and làmada, 'to the lama', instead of làma-ta. In the same way, I spell nẹmba, 'to step on to', instead of nẹn-pa.

(3) The phone ñ, a coalescence of /n/ and /y/, is written.

(4) c and j are pronounced as [ts] and [ds]; cy, chy, jy and sy as [tʃj], [tʃhj], [dʒj] and [ʃj] respectively.

(5) ṭ and ḍ are retroflex.

(6) Pitch contours are marked as follows: (a) v̀ is high-falling with a tense vowel; (b) v́ is mid-falling with a breathy vowel; (c) ṿ is low-level with a breathy vowel; the high-level pitch with tense vowel remains unmarked. Most of the suffixes have no pitches of their own. In words with two or more syllables, the syllables each having their own pitches are separated by a full-stop, for example, lọ.sa, 'new year'. In compound absolutive verbs, in which the pitch of the first syllable supplants the lexical pitch of the second one, the latter pitch is unmarked.

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* For a phonemic inventory of a Western Tamang dialect closely related to that of my fieldwork area cf. Taylor 1969; the tonal patterns of the same dialect are analysed in Hari 1970, the grammar in Taylor 1973 and Everitt 1973. Cf. also Taylor 1970 and Anonymous 1973. For the analysis of an Eastern Tamang dialect cf. Mazaudon 1973.
The transcription of Tamang in Höfer 1971, 1974 and 1975 was of provisional character and has been changed in the present book.

All pitches are lexical pitches as they appear when pronouncing a word in a substitution frame. Prosodic features and possible influences of the recitative on pitch are not rendered.

On the whole, the transcription adopted here may be regarded as the transliteration of a fictive Tamang writing and thus as a compromise between the phonological and phonetical transcription.

In the sketch-maps, (a) names in italics follow the spelling of the Survey of India maps; (b) names underlined are given in correct transcription; (c) all other names are rendered in transliteration according to their usual spelling in the Dewanagari alphabet.

In ethnic names the English plural -s is omitted, except for Anglicized forms. I write "the Tamang" (instead of "the Tamangs"), but "the Tibetans" and "the Brahmins".

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

N. = Nepali
Skt. = Sanskrit
Tib. = Tibetan
T. = Tamang
MT = modern colloquial Tamang
OT = "old Tamang" as manifest in the ceremonial language
pres. = present tense
pf. = perfect
fut. = future
imp. = imperative
hon. = honorific
< = derives from, is etymologically related with
' ' (simple quotation mark) = lexical meaning
/ (slash) = alternative form or meaning
* preceding a word = hypothetic form

The cipher following the number of a text refers to the section of the latter, for example, "text 3,6" = section no. 6 of text no. 3.

1. THE TAMANG OF THE FIELDWORK AREA

Unless otherwise stated, in this study the word Tamang refers to a group living in the central part of Dhādiṅg district. This area is traversed by the old footpath connecting the Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley with Gorkhā and Pokharā and lies between Kaṭunje Bajār in the West and Sāmari Bhanjyāṅg in the East. The fieldwork was focussed on three villages, namely Cautārā (1600 m), Bhokteni (1300 m) and Kallawāri (1525 m).

The Tamang* are the numerically strongest ethnic minority in Nepal̄. The Population Census of 1971 gives a total of 555,056 Tamang speakers, but Frank (1973: 169) estimates that there must be about 700,000 Tamang. Together with the Gurung, Thakali and some other minor groups, the Tamang could be termed a "Tibetanoid" group, i.e., a group whose language shows a remote relationship to the dialects spoken in Tibet, and whose culture has partly been influenced by the Tibetan high-culture, especially by Lamaism.

The main settlement area of the Tamang lies in the hilly sub-Himalayan zone between the rivers Likhu Kholā in East Nepal and Buri Gaṇḍaki in western Central Nepal. Tamang themselves distinguish between Eastern Tamang and Western Tamang, that is, between those living to the East and those living to the West of the Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley; more exactly, the dividing line seem to be the Bhoṭe Kosi, a tributary of the Trisuli river, and the Gosāĩkuṇḍ massif. The Western Tamang, to whom those of my fieldwork area belong, are concentrated in four districts, namely in Nuwākoṭ, Rasuwā and Dhādiṅg of Bāgmati Zone and Makwanpur of Nārāyani Zone.

In spite of the considerable differences in both language and culture between the Western and Eastern Tamang, most (but not all!) of the groups now calling themselves Tamang seem to be of a common ethnic stock.** The ethnonym Tamang appears in the 13th century A.D.: the Ta-maṅ Se-mon were "non-Bhotias" living at that time near the southern boundary of Mustāṅg (Lo) under Tibetan rule, according to Jackson (1978: 210-213). The name Ta-maṅ seems to have survived not only in "Tamang", but also in "Tapaang" and "Tamũ" — as the Thakali and Gurung respectively still call themselves (s.Hari 1970b: 205, Pignède 1966: 33, and Glover et al. 1977: 162). "Se-mon", on the other hand, may be etymologically identical with Seṁ or Sẽ, the Newari term for 'Tamang' (Toffin 1978: 118). The relatively close linguistic relationship between

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* For general information cf., i.a., Bista 1972b; Frank 1973; Fürer-Haimendorf 1956; Höfer 1969 and 1979: 146-149; Macdonald 1975: 129-167; and Lāmā 2026.

** The inhabitants of the Lāṅgthāṅg valley are not Tamang, even though they claim to be so, cf. also Hall 1978.

Tamang and Gurung, on the one hand, and the even closer relationship between Tamang and Thakali* on the other, may also be regarded as an evidence of the existence of a proto-Gurung-Thakali-Tamang ethnic group that once settled in South Tibet in an area bordering what is now western Central Nepal. The contact of this group with Tibetan civilization must have set in as early as around 1000 A.D.

According to Tibetan refugees whom I interviewed, there are still many Tamang in the area around Kirong in Tibet, organized — in contrast to the Tibetans proper — in patrilineal clans with names mostly identical to those of the Western Tamang clans. Among the Tamang of the fieldwork area, the tradition of a southward migration is still alive. As far as I could ascertain, the migration route led through the valley of the Bhoṭe Kosi. Here, some groups turned to the West, crossed the Pāldor range and settled down in the Ā̃khu Kholā valley, while the main stream of the immigrants followed the western bank of the Trisuli river. A preliminary conclusion of the rather poor genealogical data is that the first Tamang settlers — coming from both the upper Ā̃khu valley and the western bank of the Trisuli — must have arrived in the fieldwork area in the first decades of the 18th century.

At that time, the region is said to be under the control of Ghale**kings (rājā), with whom the kings of the Tamang clan Wâiba (according to others, the clan Mạmba) fought fierce battles. The Ghale and possibly also the Wâiba appear to have been armed tribesmen — just as were the Kirāti in Eastern Nepal or, say, the Khond in Orissa. Be that as it may, the Gorkhā Waṁśāwali (1974,II, p. 16) mentions that king Narabupāl Śāh's troops, marching towards Nuwākoṭ, were attacked by a "Ghale-Bhoṭyā" force between Kaṭunje and Sāmari, and that the attackers were subjects of a Ghale rājā of Golmā. This incident took place in 1739 (cf. Wajrācārya and Śreṣṭha 2032: 57), at a time when the first Tamang migrants must have already arrived in the fieldwork area. However, the earliest clear documentary evidence of Tamang settlers dates back to as late as 1849; it is a revenue settlement, a lālmohor, for the villages Bhokteni and Cautārā, in which the Tamang figure with the surname "Lāmā".***

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* These three languages were classified by Shafer (1966) as belonging to the Gurung Branch of the Bodish Section within the Bodic Division of Sino Tibetan. Mazaudon (1978: 157 ff.) adds to this branch the languages of Manang and Nar.

** The Ghale are quoted in the ethnographic sources as one of the hierarchically ranked groups of clans of the Gurung. In the fieldwork area and the upper Ā̃khu Kholā valley they consider themselves a separate ethnic group and claim, as a caste, a higher status than the Tamang. Those whom I encountered speak Tamang as their mother tongue (cf. also Toffin 1974).

*** Up to the 1930s, the Tamang were called Murmi or Lāmā. The contemptuous term Bhoṭe or Bhoṭyā, comprising all groups of Tibetan linguistic and cultural affiliation, was also applied to them. Tamang is spelt tāmāṅg in Nepali and pronounced tamaṅ by the Tamang themselves.

Political history and the adaptation to lower altitude conditions were the chief factors in shaping Tamang culture into its present form. Once the Gorkhali domination over the area had been concluded with the fall of the Newar fortress of Nuwākoṭ in 1744, the Tamang faced a large-scale influx of settlers from the West, mainly high-caste Indo-Nepalese, but also some Gurung and Magar. A *lālmohor* of 1784, for example, granted privileges to some Magar from Gorkhā, who were settled in Sāmari Bhanjyāṅg in remuneration for their services in King Prithwi Nārāyan Śāh's army. It is mainly in the first half of the 19th century that the bulk of the Tamang became practically the serfs of Brahmin and Chetri assignees of revenue on *birtā*-, *guṭhi* and *jāgir*-lands.* Other Tamang, among them the inhabitants of Bhokteni and Cautārā, with occupancy rights on State land (*raikaṛ*) were bound to serve as porters and mail-carriers for the Government authorities. In addition to feudal exploitation, high-caste domination in local politics and commerce resulted in a wide-spread indebtedness of the Tamang population. The traditional attachment to dry field cultivation and the growing monetization of the market in the period following World War I further enhanced their impoverishment.**

Contacts with the Hindu castes and the ecological adaptation entailed an acculturation process. More recently, mercenary service in the Indian army, land-scarcity and the spread of primary schools in the villages have provided further impulses to cultural change. As a result, the inventory of material culture, agricultural methods and housing of the Tamang now differ only in a few details from what is to be found among their Hindu neighbours living in the same span of altitude. Sheep were replaced by cows and water-buffaloes, and wet rice has become a new, important staple food besides the older millet and maize. Compelled to earn cash, having abandoned a more extensive type of animal husbandry on pasture-lands and cultivating labour-intensive wet rice, Tamang are now faced with a shortage of leisure time which was, in former times, devoted to gatherings, weaving and hunting. Informants complain that, due to this change, age-old songs and ceremonies have fallen into oblivion and new illnesses have sprung up.

On the other hand, the very imposition of the caste hierarchy by the new rulers seems to have reinforced the awareness of ethnic identity. It has counterbalanced cultural change and contributed to the preservation of some ethnospecific elements as markers of the status of the Tamang as a caste. To these elements belong: (a) the language (though influenced by Nepali in both vocabulary and grammar), (b) the religious tradition (albeit with a number of borrowings from Hinduism), and (c) kinship with preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage as one of its outstanding features. The latent conflict between ecological re-orientation and subjective ethnic identity is reflected by the saying: "syịṅsa máiba lụṅ chyo:jye, ñendaṅ brẹlba lạ chyo:jye", which means approximately, 'one looks for fields in the direction of the lowlands, one marries in the direction of the upland (i.e., within one's own group)'.

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* For the definition of these terms cf. Regmi 1976.

** Cf. Höfer 1978.

Besides the Tamang, the fieldwork area is now inhabited by (a) the Indo-Nepalese castes, such as the Brahmin, Chetri and the untouchable Kami (Kāmi, blacksmiths), Sarki (Sārki, cobblers) and Damai (Damāi, tailors and musicians), (b) Gurung and a few Magar, most of whom are assimilated into the culture of their Indo-Nepalese neighbours, and (c) Newar farmers and shopkeepers, who are most probably the latest immigrants. Even in those few villages with mixed populations, Tamang tend to have a separate agglomeration. The untouchable Kami, present in some Tamang villages, always live in a settlement of their own at some distance from the houses or their clients.

In the legislation of the 19th century, the Tamang were classified as Bhoṭe, i.e., as members of the lowest pure caste group (cf. Höfer 1979: 146 ff.). Individual relations between members of different castes are still restricted to the economic field, to free-lance trade, shopping in the small bazaars, share-cropping, money-borrowing, agricultural labour and the client-patron relationship between the untouchable craftsmen and the higher castes. Slight changes are of recent origin. Since the village panchayats (*pancāyat*), established in the early sixties, in general comprise more than one village, political interaction between the local élites of different castes has become more frequent and has replaced the old feudal type of interethnic ties. A few Tamang also maintain "ritual friendships" (N. *miteri*) with a Brahmin or Chetri or even with a Kami. With regard to commensality and sexual relations, however, the caste barriers are still respected by the overwhelming majority of the population, and Tamang behave towards Untouchables as strictly as other castes do. Intercaste marriages do occur, but they remain statistically of little importance. In hypergamous unions, a Tamang woman cannot be married with full rites to a Brahmin or Chetri man.

The Tamang population has no supra-village organization whatsoever. Exogamous clans, each represented by local segments in several villages at once, fulfill no other function than to regulate marriage. Solidarity among members of the same clan is an ideal rather than the practice, and it does not work at all between clanmates from different local segments. Formal cooperation between villages as such does not exist. If certain people from different villages convene and interact, it is by virtue of their being kinsmen, allied through marital ties.

The village (nàmsa) is a geographical and ritual entity; it is seldom congruent with the lowest unit of the present political organization, the panchayat ward. The Tamang village is a notion of residence and consists of an agglomeration of houses with the fields of the inhabitants around it. Villagers may unite in the case of a natural calamity or in constructing a road or a well — especially if they happen to have an efficient leader. More apparent is their cooperation in certain collective ceremonies, such as the cult of the divinities (syi̤bda) responsible for the well-being of man and cattle and the fertility of the fields. To what extent the village may be viewed as a ritual entity is also shown by the belief that an incest or an unsettled dispute between its inhabitants entails superhuman punishment in the form of a landslide or other catastrophe which affects the whole settlement as such.

In spite of an increasing differentiation of wealth (due to the influx of cash), Tamang villages as communities have remained basically egalitarian. Between villagers, the terms of address are exclusively kinship terms, the use of which is often determined after careful genealogical research, in particular in the case of women who have married in from other places. Minor disputes (debts, divorce, insult, damage caused by cattle, etc.) are settled by the village élite, a rather ad-hoc body composed of the descendants of the headmen (N. mukhiyā) and other local revenue-officers of the Rāṇā time as well as other experienced or literate persons. All specialists in both production and ritual are part-time specialists, such as the carpenter or the lama or the shaman (bo̤mbo). The division of labour is conditioned by sex. Men's work is ploughing, commerce,* basket-making, while the women's is child-rearing, housework and weaving. Both sexes can share in such activities as handling the household budget, care of cattle, kitchen gardening, rice transplantation and load-carrying. Women take no active part in religious ceremonies and communal work whatsoever.

The nuclear family prevails, and the estate, registered in the name of the head of the household, is inherited by the latter's sons. Mothers manage their own property, that is, their dowry, separately and see to it that it remains intact to be transmitted to their daughters when they marry.

The pivot of interpersonal relations is kinship with all the rights and duties, intrigues and failures, conflicts and cohesion it implies for the average Tamang in his striving for some economic security and a bit of social prestige. Women are the pledge in this game. Parents give their daughters away in exchange for wives for their sons, and men marry them because they "must have children who continue their

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* T. choṅ, which implies that one leaves his village for selling cash-crops, bamboo or eggs.

lives", as one informant put it. Such exchanges between major lineage segments may be matched over several generations. Both de jure and de facto, Tamang women are more free than females in the higher Hindu castes. Premarital sexual relations are tolerated, joking with all men other than of one's own clan is almost a must, men and women are allowed to dance together, and a woman who has been divorced twice or even three or four times suffers no lowering of her status as a wife. But whether a woman lives up to her rôle of a hard-working child-producer or not, she remains an object of speculation for her father's and husband's families. Her awareness of her value is perhaps the only reward she enjoys — provided she has given birth to at least one child. She is then likely to be loved by her children and accepted by the husband. The death rituals of other mothers, whose rôle is extolled by a number of symbolic acts, will also demonstrate to her that "it was worth it". Barrenness and/or the prospects of a more advantageous match entails divorce. To what extent a woman is an asset is also proved by the "divorce payment" (N. jāri kharc) which is claimed on her either from the new husband if the separation was by mutual consent of the spouses, or from the adulterer with whom she ran away.*

The wide network of kindred, into which the individual is "knotted-in", undergoes a dramatization in the framework of life-cycle rituals, especially at the death-feast (gral̥), when "wife-takers" serve their "wife-givers" and take upon themselves the latters' ritual impurity by cremating their dead, or when, vice versa, "wife-givers" bestow status and ritual purity upon their "wife-takers" by performing an initiation or lifting the mourning taboos in their son-in-law's family (cf. Appendix).

Relations with Tamang villages beyond the reach of one day's walk are sporadic, the main reason being that due to the preferential marriage with one's real or classificatory mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter, spouses are available in the adjacent villages or in one's own village. Most of the women and also many men of the older generation have never got beyond the threshold to "modernity" that Trisuli Bajār represents to them. This townlet on the western bank of the Trisuli river is the terminal of a bus line to Kāṭhmāṇḍu, has a small hospital, a high school and a number of shops. It is here that the "average Tamang" sells a basketful of millet or maize and purchases — twice a year — some cloth and spices. In the case of a marriage in his family, he also places an order with the Newar jeweler, and if he is well-to-do, he may afford to buy a pair of cheap Indian shoes.

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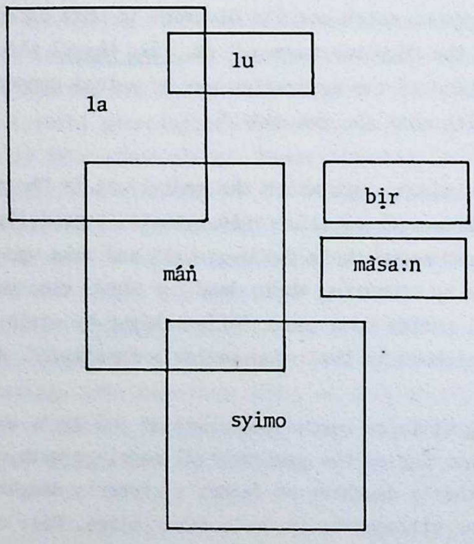
* This is in accordance with Nepalese law, cf. Höfer 1979: 79 ff.

2. THE PANTHEON

The following overview of the (non-Buddhist) Tamang pantheon makes no claims to completeness and is, of necessity, vague in its classification. It should be regarded as a synopsis of the taxonomical evidence, on the one hand, and as the result of a discussion with SB, on the other. As to the latter, an effort has been made to group the superhuman beings according to their origin and the specific ritual techniques in their cults. The outcome is tentative in many respects.



The overlapping fields in the diagram demonstrate categorial continuities. Thus, the lus are not addressed as la in invocations, but the informants classify them, with some hesitation, as such. Or: several beings have in their names the word máṅ, even though informants group them with the las. The label máṅ indeed applies to a whole series of beings, beginning with some classed as la and ending with others classed as syimo, i.e., spirits of humans who have died in the recent past.

I. The la, sometimes pronounced lha (< Tib lha, 'god', 'divinity'), may be grouped as follows:

A) The syịbda-nè:da (< Tib. gźi-bdag gnas-bdag, lit. 'lord of the soil lord of the place'), *j̇yọmo* (< Tib. *jo-mo*, lit. 'mistress') and *sajyi* (?< Tib. *sa-gźi*, lit. 'foundation') are all worshipped as divinities responsible for the fertility of the fields and for the well-being of men and cattle in the village.

The *syịbda-nè:das* are the "lords of the soil". Every village has its own cult place, N. *bhumithān* (*bhumi*, 'soil', + *thān*, 'cult place'), and the three I saw were arranged in such a way that the left side was reserved for the *syịbda* and the right one for the *nè:da*. This division was justified by the fact that the *syịbda* is believed to be vegetarian, the *nè:da*, by contrast, carnivorous, receiving periodical animal sacrifices. Different villages have different *syịbda-nè:das*, as will be shown in text 1,12 and 15. They may have names of Tibetan or Nepali origin, and people have no precise ideas about their closer identity.

In one variant of the *syịbda* story, mention is made of a Gurung woman who was married to a (Gurung?) man in Jhārkalleri, a village on the left bank of the Trisuli river. After his death, this man declared through a medium that he had entered into a "union" with the *syịbda*. The *syịbda*, as a *la*, "came" from Tibet. In another variant, it is the *syịbda* which is identified with the ghost (*syimo*) of a Gurung man of Sirāncok, a village near Gorkhā, whereas the *nè:da* is classified as a *la*. Be that as it may, in the recitations, Jhārkalleri (Kalliri) is referred to as the "place of origin" of the *syịbda*. I presume that such stories and identifications have served the purpose of actualising an older, Tibetan concept of the *gźi-bdag gnas-bdag* by projecting it on to the new environment in Nepal. Certain names, now void of any meaning for the Tamang, might be regarded as survivals of such an older concept. Thus the *syịbda* is also invoked as La Kundu Sạṅbo < Tib. *kun-tu bzaṅ-po*, 'the Primordial Buddha', or as La Wāṅbo < Tib. *lha('i) dbaṅ-po*, 'Lord of gods', an epitheton of Indra (cf. also text 1,15 and 19).

As a matter of fact, the *syịbda-nè:da* is interpreted as a term comprising two elements or two kinds of beings, and it is interesting to note that in Tibetan folk religion, too, the holy site implies both a god identified with a peak, rocks or a tree, on the one hand, and a goddess identified with a river, lake or a spring, on the other (Stein 1962: 176). Let us also add that in one instance, a Tamang informant said that the *nè:da* was a *dewi* (N.), a goddess.

The cult place of the *syịbda-nè:da* is always in a cavity on a steep slope hidden under large trees and regarded as sacrosanct. Any disturbance, be it by defecating near the cult place or by removing a stone around it, is believed to entail a calamity or illness. Any incest or unclear pregnancy in the village is regarded as "defiling" (*dịb*) the *syịbda-nè:da*. Besides the communal worship directly addressed to them (cf. Appendix), the *syịbda-nè:da* are to be invoked in any larger-scale private ceremony, such as the hunting ritual or curing rites, etc.

No information was available on the identities of *jyọmo* and *sajyi*.

B) The clan gods, *tembai la* (? < Tib. *brten-pa'i lha*, lit. 'the supporting god'), also called *kùlgi la* (< N. *kul*, 'patrilineage') or *dímgi la* (< T. *dím*, 'house'). Every unilineal exogamous unit has its own *tembai la*, and such a unit may consist either of one clan, *rị:* (< Tib. *rus-pa*, lit. 'bone') or *thar* (N.), or of a group of clans bearing different names, but recognizing common ancestry and thus prohibiting intermarriage among themselves.*

Thus, the clans Mạmba, Thògra, Phyu:ba, Pàkhren and Ḍịmḍuṅ, for example, have various *Ḍablas* as their clan gods. These are particularly fierce divinities with manifold manifestations and several names or epitheta which will be explained further below in text 4 and 5. The "brother"-clans Hịmruṅ and Koṅbo worship Nạru Konjyo Pègar Gyálbo in whose name Pègar is reminiscent of Pe-har (dPe-dkar), described by Nebesky-Wojkowitz as one of the *dharmapālas* or protectors of religion in Tibetan belief (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 94 ff. and Hoffmann 1950: 163). Làma Konjyo is the clan god of the Blẹnden, Co:dėn, Gálden, Syoṅbo and some other clans and is said to have been a powerful tantric lama in the mythical past. According to one informant, his full name is Làma Konjyo Chye Konjyo Tàmriṅ Konjyo Hịdam Konjyo, from Tib. *bla-ma dkon-mčhog čhos* (?) *dkon-mčhog rta-mgrin dkon-mčhog yi-dam dkon-mčhog* meaning something like 'Supreme Lama Supreme Religion (?) Supreme Hayagrīva Supreme Tutelary'. Hayagrīva, the horse-necked divinity is one of the tutelaries of the right faith of Lamaism (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 102).

The situation of the Wàiba clan is a particular one in that it has two different clan gods, and that one of these is obviously a deified ancestress, whereas the other one belongs to the category of the *las* of non-human origin. The clan founder had two wives; the descendants of the senior wife, Yábi , now worship her as Yábi** Chemen Ḍólmo, while the clan god of the descendants of the junior wife is Caṅri Ma:bon Ḍạbla.

These few examples illustrate the influence the Lamaist pantheon, especially the pantheon of the Old Sect, exercised on the non-Buddhist tradition of the Tamang. Pe-har (T. Pègar) and dGra-lha/dGra-bla (=T. Ḍạbla) figure among those pre-Buddhist Tibetan divinities which had been subdued by Padmasambhava and became the protectors of Buddhism. Ḍạbla Ma:bon Chyembo, a manifestation of Ḍạbla, is represented by the Tamang as having nine heads or nine hair-locks (*brọṅdo*), and another manifestation, Hịsye Ḍạbla, is a powerful divine companion in the shaman's (*bọmbo*) fight against demons and spirits. As to their Tibetan background, suffice it here to cite the dMag-dpon ćhen-po, the chief of the nine dGra-lha brothers in Lamaist writings, or the dGra-lha called *ye-śes lha bdud 'dul gsaṅ-ba*, 'the god of sublime wisdom (Tib. *ye-śes*, T. *hịsye*), mystery, subduer of the *bdud* (demons)' having nine heads, of a Bon-po creation story (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 328 f. and Tucci 1970: 243 f. respectively).

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* The Eastern Tamang of Timāl call their clan gods *rüigi phola* < Tib. *rus-kyi pho-lha*, lit. 'male god of the clan/bone'; on the *pho-lha in Tibet* cf. Hoffmann 1950: 171 ff.; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 237, 318 ff.; Tucci 1967: 127.

** I also heard Yạbi, instead of Yábi.

C) A particular class is constituted by the divinities which, according to the texts, reside in various parts of the house, thus: Gọrmen Ḍólmo in the ceiling, Alen Dẹwa in the fire-place, Dạ:daṅ Ḍólmo (*ḍólmo* < Tib. *sgrol-ma*, 'Tārā'), etc., cf. also text 1,10 and 11. Even though invoked in every ceremony which takes place inside the house, these divinities seem to have survived merely in their names. No specific worship is devoted to them, and no information was available on their identities.

D) The *cen* are etymologically identical to, but conceptually somewhat different from, the *bcan* demons in Tibetan belief. The latter are represented as horse-riding warriors shooting their arrows at men and residing on red rocky mountains (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 299; Tucci 1970: 224 f.; and Hoffmann 1950: 141). For the Tamang, by contrast, most of the *cen* are fairy-like female beings, wearing beautiful costumes and jewellery.They play an important part in the shaman's curing ritual: There is a mystic linkage between a particular kind of flower, a particular kind of *cen* and the genitals of a female — the latter being also called "flower". Each (botanical) species of flower is inhabited by, or closely associated with, a certain *cen*. Thus, once the shaman has discovered which flower corresponds to his patient's "flower", he can identify and placate the *cen* held responsible for the woman's barrenness or menstruation trouble.

Yet, Tamang tradition has still preserved some reminiscence of the older Tibetan concept of *bcan*. Cen Ḍạkpo, for example, to be dealt with in more detail in text 2, is, according to one informant, a male *cen* who dwells on a mountain and shoots his arrows to the sky. These latter two characteristics Cen Ḍạkpo also shares with another being, Syauri Máṅ alias Ḍạkpo, which the Tamang actually do not classify among the *cen*, but which otherwise closely resembles the "wild hunter", just as do the *bcans* in Tibet (cf. Hoffmann 1950: 141 f.).

E) The *ḍakpos* (< Tib. *drags-po*, 'violent', 'terrifying') appear under different names, such as Kirba Ḍakpo, 'Hunting Ḍakpo', or Syauri Máṅ, 'Meteor Máṅ', etc. and will be commented on in text 4. Suffice it here to note their fierce character, their association with hunting and obvious resemblance to some manifestations of Ḍabla.

F) The *duḍ* are malevolent beings living in blue lakes and ponds or near a spring. The term itself derives from Tib. *bdud*, often rendered by 'devil' or 'fiend', demons which inhabit, along with the *lha* and *bcan*, the air (cf. Hoffmann 1950: 140 f.).

G) The *lu*, *kharda* and *nāg-nāgini* (N.) may be dealt with as one class. The *lus*, to begin with, dwell outside the human settlement beneath large stones on meadows, on the wayside and in other "natural niches" in between patches of cultivated land. The word *lu* derives from Tib. *klu*, and just as the *klus* in Tibetan belief, the Tamang *lus* are believed to inhabit the earth or, to be more precise, the underworld (cf. Hoffmann 1950: 157 ff., i.a.). They are vegetarian in as much as they are offered rice-flour and grains of cereals.

SB classified the *lus* with the *las*, however not without some hesitation. While he clearly demarcated them from the *máṅs*, he pointed out that the idiom "*la-lu*", a metonym for all divinities a village is to worship, seemed to connote a distinction between the two kinds of beings.* Be that as it may, the *lus* show some distinct characteristics.

Man may "make a deal" with the *las*, *máṅs* and *syimos*. That is, personal ties between them and humans can be established: they can be played off by tricks or overpowered by the coercive force of proper ritual techniques or, yet again, won as allies and protectors by prayers and sacrifices. The case is different with the *lus*. Their realm is nature, where man is a potential disturber. They are peaceful if they are left in peace, and wrathful if molested, but otherwise they do not interfere in human affairs. If somebody urinates on the stone beneath which a *lu* is dwelling, that person will be afflicted by an illness, and this manifests itself in the form of purulent eruptions on the skin, called *lubor* < *lu* + *por*, 'abscess', or of enormous swellings all over the body.

In the ritual texts, one also encounters the expressions *salu-kharda*, *kharda-chobda* and *sabda-luṅen*. *salu* seems to derive from *sa*, 'earth', + *lu*, and to denote those *lus* which dwell in the earth, whereas *kharda* or *kharda-chobda* refers to another type of related beings believed to live in ponds and lakes, and in some instances also under large, solitary trees. Obviously, *kharda-chobda* comes from Tib. *mkhar-*

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* also *la-lu seṅba*, 'to worship', lit. 'to make *la* and *lu*'.

bdag mcho-bdag, lit. 'lord of the fortress lord of the lake', wherein *mkhar* may also mean 'stone monument' (heap of stones, megalithic monument).* We know that in Tibetan belief, the *klus* dwell in miraculous castles (*mkhar*) under the surface of lakes, and this, in turn, confirms what was suggested by SB, namely that the *khardas* are akin to the *lus* (cf. also Laufer 1898). Luyuṅ Kharda, the name of a place in the field-work area, which is dominated by a stone boulder (*yùṅ*), is also reminiscent of the Tibetan *klus* associated with a *mkhar*.

In one instance, the *salu* was described as a being resembling a white ox, and the *kharda* as a monster with the head of a cock. Another informant explained that in *kharda-chobda*, *kharda* denotes a male and *chobda* or *chona* a female being.

sabda-luṅen seems to derive from Tib.**sa-bdag klu-ṅan*, lit. 'lord of the soil evil *klu*', but the informants could not comment on the specific identity of it. Let us add that the Tibetan *sa-bdags* are often represented as beings with the head of an animal or monster (Hoffmann 1950: 159 f.; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 291 ff.) — a characteristic which reminds us of the *kharda* and *salu* in Tamang belief.

Tamang also worship the *nāg-nāgini*, as do their Hindu neighbours, by offering them milk, but the informants I asked were not certain whether they are identical with the *lus* or not. Tibetan belief often sees in the *klus* the equivalents of the Indian *nāgas*, i.e., snake-godlings with anthropomorphic bodies which are associated with the underworld and the rain (Hoffmann 1950: 157 ff.). The Tamang expression "*salu re:ba*", 'the *salu* rises', is a euphemism for 'to rain' and possibly a mirror-translation of Nepali *nāg uṭhcha*, used in the same context.

H) The *mạmos* are female divinities, principally of evil character and causing various illnesses. There are the Nine Mạmos (Mạmo Kù) who ride the magic horse, the *tàbu* (< Tib. *rta*, *rta-po*, 'horse'), when moving on the earth, and the whirlwind, *luṅgi khorlo* (Tib. *rluṅ*, 'wind', + '*khor-lo*, 'wheel'), when moving in the sky. Their weapons are swords and huge iron tongs. The chief of them is Nẹggi Ama (< Tib. *nad-kyi 'a-ma*), 'Mother of Illness', the dough-figure (*tormo*) of which is modelled with a long tongue protruding out of its mouth; the figure is wrapped in the bowels of the sacrificial animal and is fed with dirt, saliva and nasal mucus.

Ajyi Mạmo and Syijyi Mạmo are also particular *mạmos*, frequently mentioned in the shaman's texts. Interestingly, all *mạmos* are said to be identical with the Hindu *māi* or "mother goddesses", such as Durgā, Kālikā, Bhawāni, etc., and the informants went as far as to identify Ajyi Mạmo with Ajimā, the goddess of small-pox of the Newar pantheon in the Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley, which, in turn, is often equated with the goddess Sitalā.

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* A.W. Macdonald, personal communication.

The mamos certainly correspond to the ma-mos (lit. 'grandmother') of the Tibetans, and as Hoffmann (1950: 168) points out, even the Tibetan religious literature identifies them with the Indian seven, nine or sixteen mātās, 'mothers', aspects of the goddess Durgā or members of Durgā's retinue. In Tibet, too, the ma-mos are depicted as ugly, ferocious female beings, half-naked and with emaciated breasts, and among their weapons there is a sack full of diseases. The ma-mos both cause and counteract illness. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Tamang shamans often place small children under the special protection of certain māis whom they consider identical with the mamos. (On the Tibetan ma-mos cf. also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 269-273).

I) The mythical founders of the socio-religious world order may be regarded as cultural heroes in a specific sense. The stories connected with them explain the origin of the present division of labour among the ritual specialists and the rules underlying Tamang customs, the pe:thim (< Tib. dpe, 'pattern', + khrims, 'duty', 'custom'). Both those heroes who triumphed and those who fell gave rise to the present form of man-superhuman relations.

Urgyen Pe:ma, that is, Padmasambhava, the primordial Shamans (Bọn) and the first Witch Lasya Khanḍa:mo are three examples illustrating this.

Since the Tamang are adherents of the Old Sect of Lamaism, the importance of Padmasambhava, the founder of this sect, for them is hardly surprising. As in Tibetan tradition, Urgyen Pe:ma (< Tib. 'u-rgyan pad-ma) is a powerful magician. But in contrast to Tibet, he is not the missionary of a new faith. Rather, he appears in Tamang mythology as a "co-creator" of the universe and a founder of social institutions; he is also at the origin of the history of the Tamang as an ethnic group.

In Tibetan tradition, Padmasambhava subdued the local demons by extorting from them an oath, dam, to act from now on as protectors of Buddhism. In Tamang texts, the word dam appears in the expression damla ta:ba (< Tib. dam-la 'dogs-pa, 'to exorcise through binding by an oath'), meaning 'to establish' or 'to fix' somebody or something in a place or in a rôle. It occurs almost exclusively in stories connected with Urgyen Pe:ma. In a song sung at the (Hindu) Dasāī festival, Urgyen Pe:ma and his ultimate adversary, the shaman Dụnsur Bọn, successively create by damla ta:ba the Earth, ... the four corners with their divine guardians, the sentient beings, mankind, the village headman, ... and the King of Gorkhā. In another version of the same song, Urgyen Pe:ma appears as the creator of the present world of man, whereas the cosmos as such is brought forth by Mahādew-Pārwati, i.e., Śiva and his wife, Pārvatī.

In the shaman's recitations, there is, among others, mention of Urgyen Pe:ma's reducing the number of suns and moons from nine to one of each, his fixing the rôle of the shaman, allocating the las, máṅs, etc. their various abodes and tasks. A number of etiological stories relate his interventions in shaping society and the world. In one of them, Urgyen Pe:ma is said to have cut through with his magic wand (and walking stick) the ring of mountains around the present Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley in order to drain off the water of a lake which covered the region at that time. The beds of the rivers in the Valley go back to the scratches he made with the same stick. The first part of this story reminds one of the myth of the Nepalese chronicles, according to which the Bāgmati gorge was cut open by Mañjuśrī with his sword; and the second part has its parallel in the Tibetan work Lha-'dre bka'-thaṅ which mentions that the drink of immortality and medicines appeared in the furrows Padmasambhava drew in the soil with his wand (Blondeau 1971: 87; on the Mañjuśrī myth cf. Wright 1877: 78 f.).

Another etiological story explains why members of the Mamba clan are likely to die with their "entrails rotten", that is, with diarrhoea-like symptoms. It is due to a curse Urgyen Pe:ma cast upon the Mamba people when he once found them sitting in a meadow and "defiling with their buttocks" the holy dubo (Skt. dūrvā) grass that covered the place.

On the whole, in Tamang tradition Urgyen Pe:ma alias Padmasambhava is divested of his Buddhist orientation in that he kills his adversaries or damns them forever by a curse. In Tibetan hagiography, the injuries he inflicts never imply annihilation, but rather a transformation of the evil being into a good one, and the oath confirms the latter's commitment to a positive rôle — quite in contrast to a curse.

As Tibetan tradition has it, Padmasambhava was the founder of the famous monastery dBu'i Sam-yas in Central Tibet. In Tamang belief, too, there is a close association between Urgyen Pe:ma and Uiseme Gombo (T. gombo < Tib. dgon-pa, 'monastery'), but with a different accentuation. Tamang belief focuses more on the ethnic than the merely religious importance of the place. As can be inferred from a number of contexts, Uiseme is the mythic site where the formative period of Tamang social history took place, and from where the ancestors started migrating southward. That is why the long enumerations of places, so typical of Tamang ritual texts, in any large-scale ceremony always end or begin again in Uiseme, thus reiterating the route of migration. This holds true, for example, of the texts 1 and 4 in this book as well as of the songs sung by the laiety on the occasion of a death-feast.

It may be added that quite similar functions are attributed to Urgyen Pe:ma in the tradition of an Eastern Tamang group in the Timāl area, as can be inferred from the songs recited by the "minstrels", the *tamba*.*

The *bọns* are the primordial shamans, believed to have lived in the mythical past and to be the founders of the present institution of shamanism. Among them are Nạru Bọn, Ui Syel Bọn, Jyạṅ Sonam Bọn and Nụp Bạldiṅ Bọn, whose identity will be explained in the second volume in connection with the *bọmbo*'s rituals. The *bọns* play an active rôle in Tamang religion in that it is from among them that most of the Tamang shamans have their spiritual ancestor-cum-tutelaries, *phamo* (? < Tib. *pha-mes*, 'ancestors', or *pha-ma*, 'parents'). Each *bọmbo* has one such particular *phamo*, and the most important momentum of his consecration consists of seeking for (*salba* or *máiba*) him. Besides the primordial *bọns*, some shamans may find their *phamo* among other divine beings. For example, Syauri Máṅ alias Syauri Ma:bon (cf. p. 16 and text 4) or Mam Syìlikmo Khanḍa:mo can also be revealed as such.** Consequently, the term *phamo* does not denote a special class of divinities.

The word *khanḍa:mo* appears in the name of another mythical founder, in that of Lasya Khanḍa:mo. According to one version of her story, Lasya Khanḍa:mo had committed adultery, and her husband, the aforementioned Nạru Bọn, was about to kill her when one of the primordial lamas, Gálden Làma (or, according to others, Urgyen Pe:ma) intervened and punished her, instead, by turning her into the First Witch or the Mother of All Witches. In our days, every large-scale séance of a shaman comprises a specific banning ceremony addressed to Lasya. ***

If, nowadays, a witch is believed to have his or her "active period", in which he/she troubles the neighbours, Tamang say: *thei lasya re:bala*, that is, his/her *lasya* has risen. Informants, however pointed out that not every witch is directly dominated by Lasya Khanḍa:mo, but that a person deemed to be a witch may also "carry" a *bir* or a *máṅ*.

In the ceremonial language, a witch is referred to as *sonḍe* (< Tib. *gson-'dre*, lit. 'living demon') or as *d̤emojyen/d̤emojen*, which most probably derives from Tib.

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* This specialist is unknown among the Western Tamang. On the *tamba* cf. also Macdonald 1975: 134 ff., 146.

** Mam (T.), 'grandmother', + *khanḍa:mo* ? < Tib. *mkha'-'dro-ma*, '*ḍākinī*', witch-like female holders of magical wisdom, and as such among the protectors of Lamaism, cf. i.a., Hoffmann n.d.: 154 and Das 1970: 180.

*** Lasya, sometimes pronounced Lhasya by the Tamang informants, is reminiscent of the Tibetan La-sya or La-bya-bse, a *ḍākinī* of the Boddhisattva Kṣitigarbha according to Lauf (1975: 134). Cf. also Schuh 1973: 412 f. and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 113 f. There is also a bSe'i lha-mo bži subdued by Padmasambhava and baptized "Grand Witch Exterior Blessing" (Bischoff and Hartmann 1971: 18, 22).

'dre-mo-ćan, lit. 'the one with a demoness'. In modern Tamang, the feminine of the Nepali loan-word *bokso*, namely *boksi*, is used regardless of the sex, probably because women are most likely to become witches.

As open accusation is regarded as a serious insult, a *boksi* is in most cases unaware of her or his *boksi*-ness. He/she harms by *sạga*, 'evil eye', or by *cya: pìppa*, 'sending a glimpse', at the food of others.* The effect of the evil eye is *syìdi*, and the food befallen with *syìdi* causes, when consumed, vomiting and belching. The *syìdi* is always the result of envy and as such it can also be produced by poor people who are covetous of the others' food, but otherwise not regarded as *boksi*. The *boksi*-ness can be transferred to other persons, mainly to one's children, by contagion, for example, by wearing a *boksi*'s clothes or by eating from the plate used by a *boksi*.

J) Hindu divinities are not always spontaneously distinguished as such from the "original" Tamang ones, and this may illustrate the extent to which they have been integrated into the Tamang tradition. Many of these Hindu divinities have assumed a Tamang name or appear in a "union" with a Tamang divinity.

Thus, the Paca Bhaiyā (< Skt. *pañca*, 'five', + Hindi *bhaiyā*, 'brother') are obviously identical with the Pāṇḍava brothers of the Mahābhārata. In Tamang belief, they are of the "wild hunter" type, roaming in the forest and on mountains, and their arrows are believed to cause a burning pain. They are worshipped together, i.e., within a single ceremony, with another "wild hunter", which is called alternately Kirba Ḍakpo (T.) or Hanuwā (N.) and will be dealt with in the introduction to text 4. I would go so far as to assume that these three names would have long since become the names of one and the same divinity if the ritual practice did not, as it actually does, underscore the difference between them. That is, in the ceremony, first Paca Bhaiyā is addressed in Nepali and then Ḍakpo alias Hanuwā in Tamang; the cock to be sacrificed is promised to Paca Bhaiyā, but in reality offered to Ḍakpo.

Technically, most of the Hindu divinities appear as a distinct class in that their recitations are performed in Nepali and do not contain a *rịrap*, i.e., long enumerations of places.** Taxonomically, however, many Hindu divinities constitute a sort of transitory category between *la* and *máṅ*; although classified by SB as *la*, their names often contain the word *máṅ*. Thus, *yembui máṅ* (T.) alias *nepāli bhut* (N.), lit. '*máṅ*/spirit of the Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley', are called certain divinities with sanctuaries in the Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley, such as Bhairaw, Taleju, etc.

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* *sạga* ?< Tib. *zag-pa*, 'impure', 'sin', especially sin produced by desire and passion in the Buddhist sense, cf. Das 1970: 1089. On the legal restrictions on witchcraft accusation cf. Macdonald 1968.

** Cf. text 1,15 ff.

The word *máṅ* also appears in the name of Buḍhba:re Màyi Máṅ < N. *budhbār*, 'Wednesday', + T. *màyi*, 'water buffalo'. This divinity, too, has a double identity and is regarded as a "union" between the Màyi Máṅ proper and a Kamalā Māi. Its worship can take place on a Wednesday only and is to be performed jointly with that for Kamalā Māi. For Kamalā Māi, the left side of the (temporary) cult place is reserved, and she is offered a raw egg and some popped unhusked rice. Màyi Máṅ is carnivorous and is given a hen as a sacrifice on the left side of the cult place. — Kamalā is an epithet of Lakṣmī/Lachmi, the goddess of wealth and wife of Viṣṇu/Nārāyan. As to Màyi Máṅ, the informants stated that their Hindu neighbours also worshipped it, and that it is from them that the Tamang adopted the recitation, which is always in Nepali.

A rapid inventory of some further Hindu divinities leads to the following results:

Among those collectively (village-wise) worshipped are Sansāre Māi and Durgā. The latter, often referred to simply as *dewi* (N.), 'goddess', receives a buffalo sacrifice at the Dasāĩ festival (s. Appendix). Sansāre Māi is believed to be the Mistress of Epidemics, who roams about the world (N. *sansār*), and Tamang offer her a buffalo in June or July. — Equally important are those divinities which are worshipped individually by a household or a group of households within a village quarter (*khor*). Gaiḍu alias Mahādew is one of them (s. Appendix). In numerous cases, it is the local manifestation of a divinity that is in the focus of attention, such as the Bhairaw of Nuwākoṭ, Bhairawi Dewi of Dewighāṭ near Nuwākoṭ (s. Appendix), Mankāmnā Dewi of Gorkhā, Sallyān Dewi of Sallyānkoṭ near the confluence of the Buri Gaṇḍaki and the Ākhu Kholā, to mention just a few. A survey carried out in 1974 shows that in Cautārā village 92% of the Tamang households regularly worshipped these and some other Hindu divinities, chiefly on the basis of a vow.

The reasons for the popularity of the Hindu pantheon among Tamang cannot be discussed here in detail. It may suffice to point out the possible rôle played by the centres of the state cult (Kāṭhmāṇḍu, Gorkhā) as well as by the holy places which attract large crowds of pilgrims including many Tamang (Nuwākoṭ, Dewighāṭ) and by the smaller shrines devoted to the kin group tutelaries (*kul deutā*) of the former feudal lords among the higher Hindu castes. Individuals, such as the shamans with their syncretistic tendencies and the Gurkha soldiers, have also contributed to the propagation of Hinduism. In sum, Hinduism in Tamang religion is no longer a mere addition of a foreign import.

* * *

II. The máṅs. This word has, as far as I can see, no equivalent in the Tibetan language, but is, on the other hand, etymologically related to Limbu māṅ, 'deutā', 'divine spirit' (Chemjong n.d.: 205), Lepcha muṅ, 'devil', 'bhut' (Chemjong 2026: 259) and Gurung mõh or mxõ, 'esprit', 'ghost' (Pignède 1966: Index; Glover et al. 1977: 71 respectively).

Man's action towards the máṅs is khla:ba, lit. 'to throw away'. Máṅs and syimos are principally evil, just as are the duds in the la category. But contrary to the las, máṅs and syimos are not accorded a legitimate share of power over nature and men. They are outlaws. They are not entitled to receive, and even if they are given it is because they force one to do so. They are not expected to protect man, except in the passive sense, that is by their absence. Even if man declares the contrary and asks for their protection in his recitations, it is simply to flatter them. The sacrificial share of a máṅ is lud or yạ:, in contradistinction to chyoppa with reference to a la or lu (cf. text 1,17 and 18).

This is valid as a rule allowing for some individual variations, especially if a máṅ is somehow associated with a la...

Taxonomically, the boundaries between máṅ and la, on the one hand, and between máṅ and syimo, on the other, are not tightly drawn. The examples of the Yembui Máṅ and the Màyi Máṅ show that the label máṅ also applies to some Hindu divinities (cf. p. 21-22). Furthermore, those spirits of humans who have lived in the mythical or remote past are called máṅ — in contrast to the spirits of humans who have lived in the recent past, the syimos; yet in some cases, the distinction is equivocal. Thus, the "union" (chyipjen-puṅjen, s. text 2,1) of a syimo with a la or bir is also commonly referred to as máṅ. And there is one máṅ, the Lọṅai Máṅ, which is neither a la nor — to my knowledge — a being of human origin.

The word lọṅai possibly derives from Tib. luṅ-kha'i, lit.'of the side of the valley', and the alternative name of this máṅ is Chyu Gẹpu-Gẹmo (OT), lit. 'Water/River Old Man Old Woman'. This couple dwells in caves in the valleys and is invisible; one can hear it, especially in the evening, emitting the sounds "phyu:t phyu:t oĩ oĩ". Whoever comes into contact with the long emaciated breasts of the female Gẹmo is believed to lose his senses. If somebody feels persecuted by her, he can escape by running downhill, as her long breasts will hamper her in following him. (When running uphill she will let her breasts hang over her shoulders). Once captured, the victim — mostly a man who comes back from the fields after sunset — is dragged into the cave, and his limbs are severed from the trunk of his body, or, more precisely, he will be plagued by the vision of being treated in such a way. The Lọṅai Máṅ will then try to make the prisoner his disciple, that is, a shaman. One can easily recognize in this dismemberment the well-known motif of the initiation experience in North Eurasian shamanism.

The Lọṅai Máṅ is identified with the Ban Jhā̃kri, the Forest Shaman, of Nepalese folklore. An informant among the Eastern Tamang of the Timāl area told me that the Ban Jhā̃kri is the female partner, whereas her husband is called Sun Jhā̃kri, lit. 'Gold Shaman'. The Ban Jhā̃kri always wants to kill her prisoners, but in the end she is persuaded by her husband to spare them and let them become disciples. A similar story was collected by A.W.Macdonald (1975: 122) in Darjeeling.

* * *

III. The *syimos* are malevolent ghosts of humans who have died in the recent past, and the word *syimo* is possibly a contracted form of Tib. *gśin-po*, 'dead man'.

Who is likely to become a *syimo*?

The ghost of a human is called *somre* < *somret*, 'a period of three days', i.e., the period within which it is likely to return and appear to the living. An alternative term is *phonet* for the ghost of a male (*pho*) and *mọnet* for that of a female (*mọ*). Such a ghost may, sooner or later, be detected as a malevolent *syimo* if one of the following conditions are fulfilled:

(a) The person in question was, during his life-time, closely associated with superhuman beings. He was either a ritual specialist, a *làma*, *lámbu* or *bọmbo*, or somebody who possessed particularly powerful magic formulas, such a person being called *saṅduṅ* (cf. text 1,13). For example, the Syelle Gạṅgi Máṅ is the *syimo* of a lama who lived in Syelle village. He had "too much spiritual perfection" (N. *siddhi*), and it was so powerful that it turned against its bearer to the effect that the lama died meagre and weak "like his own shadow". The ghost of a witch and of a person who won the friendship of a *bir*, may also become a *syimo*. Such a *syimo* is called *sẹnḍe* or *sạnḍe*, a term specifying its origin (cf. text 5,13).

(b) The person in question lived the life of poverty, remaining hungry and always thinking of the others' wealth. SB's comment: A man with a "straight mind", that is, who has nothing at the back of his mind, will never become a *syimo*.

(c) The person in question died a violent or untimely death, be it by an accident or by succumbing to an illness. In the latter case, Tamang hold that the *syimo* will inflict the same illness on the living. For example, the Moare Máṅ is a "union" of the *syimos* of a father, his son and daughter. The *syimo* of the daughter, who was drowned in a river, "makes the bodies of her victims cool", and the *syimo* of the son, who was murdered, causes "tearing pains" in one's body.

(d) The person's corpse was not completely cremated.

As a synonym of *syimo*, the word *bạ:yo* < N. *bāyu* is also used (on the *bāyu*-belief among the Nepali-speaking castes cf. Sharma 1970; and Höfer and Shrestha 1973).

It deserves repeated emphasis that most of the *syimos* are known as living in a "union" with a *la* or *bir*, and that the *syimo* type described under (a), especially the *syimo* of a former shaman, is the most common one.

* * *

IV. The *bir* (T. *bịr*) and *masān* (T. *mȁsa:n*) are borrowings from the Hindu folk-pantheon (cf. Höfer and Shrestha 1973) and play an important part in Tamang shamanism. The *masān* is a sort of goblin believed to originate from corpses and to haunt the cremation grounds (N. *masān ghāṭ*); the *bir* appears in the shape of, or resembles, various animals, such as a hen or a black dog, etc. Both are evil in principle, but a "friendship" with a *bir* may bring about temporary benefits for man. There are men said to "carry" (*nȁ:ba*) a *bir*, that is, they are able to win its assistance by virtue of some secret magic formula (N. *mantra*) and/or by means of regular sacrifices. The *bir* renders its "carrier" wealthy and remains, after his death, attached to him who becomes a *syimo*. Such a *bir* is called *maruwā bir* (N.), lit. 'dead man *bir*'.

The shaman can force a *bir* or *masān* to help him in his search for, or fight with, the originator of a trouble, and the expression *bir khelāunu* (N.), 'to make play a *bir*', stands for the act of imposing his will on it.

3. THE RITUAL SPECIALISTS

There are five major ritual specialists, all male, in Tamang society:

(a) the *làma*, the priest of the Old Sect of Lamaism, whose main responsibility is to perform the rites connected with death;

(b) the shaman, *bọmbo*, the ecstatic specialist per se and above all a healer;

(c) the *lámbu*, a non-ecstatic exorcist;

(d) the chief *mukhiyā* (N.) or "headman" of the village, who is in charge of the cult of the *syịbda-nè:da* by virtue of his office; and

(e) the *pujāri* (N.), an expert in rituals addressed to certain Hindu divinities.

The *làma* and *bọmbo* are formally initiated specialists who have undergone a longer period of training. For the *bọmbo*, an additional prerequisite is a mystic vocation experience. The chief *mukhiyā*'s part in the ritual is based on a sort of "Gentil-charisma" (M.Weber), that is, on his descent from other *mukhiyā*s. As such, he is still a much respected person, even though his office as a local tax-collector and headman has been abolished by the post-Rāṇā administration. Neither the *lámbu* nor the *pujāri* receive any formal initiation and training; the former is qualified by his vocation experience with symptoms similar to those of the *bọmbo*, the latter by his skill once it has been acquired.

These functions are often transmitted from father to son or from paternal uncle to nephew, both real and classificatory, within a local segment of a lineage or clan. Since Tamang clans are in no way hierarchized, clan membership is not a criterion for access, at least not de jure, except for the chief *mukhiyā*, who tends to be a descendant of the first settlers in a village and/or belongs to the numerically dominant, local clan segment. As the *làma*'s office implies prestige and material benefits in the form of annual contributions of cereals from every household in his village, the father-to-son transfer principle is carried through most consequently in his case. The *lámbu*'s and *bọmbo*'s lines of office-inheritance are not so continuous because of their dependence on a vocation experience and most probably also because of the tiresome and dangerous nature of their functions.

There are some two- or even threefold specialists. Some *bọmbos* also do the *lámbu*'s work, and a *mukhiyā* can be a *bọmbo* or *lámbu* at the same time. I knew of a *làma* who also acted as a bọmbo, but this is clearly an exceptional instance running contrary to the general rule of a strict division between the two specialists (cf. below).In spite of different methods and professional ethics, and notwithstanding the superiority of the làma, the relationship between these specialists is in no way characterized by "confessional" tensions. It occurs that the làma and bọmbo cooperate within one and the same ceremony, each having his own entirely separate sequence of ritual.

The "trinity" of the three most important specialists is circumscribed by the idiom "chyegu, luṅgu, ṭulgu". chyegu ? < Tib. ćhos-sku, lit. 'religion-body' (dharma-kāya)*, stands for the làma; luṅgu ? < Tib. *luṅ-sku, lit. 'mantra-body', for the bọmbo**; and ṭulgu < Tib. sprul-sku, lit. 'emanation-body', 'incarnate person', for the mukhiyā.*** The last euphemism seems to refer to the intimate ties between the syịbda-nè:da and the person of the mukhiyā.

The distinctness of tasks is also reflected by the positions of the làma, bọmbo and lámbu when performing a ceremony in their clients' houses. In the diagram on p. 28, the arrows represent the specialists sitting cross-legged. We see that the lámbu is sitting in a transitory zone and facing the entrance through which the evil is to leave; this is in accordance with his rôle as an exorcist. The làma's position, near the entrance and facing the ideal West, may hang together with his chief task, namely to mediate between life and death, associated with the South and North respectively. It is in the same corner of the house that the corpses of family members are prepared for cremation. The fact that the bọmbo occupies the place where the head of the household normally sits, is obviously an expression of his thorough intimacy (necessary for diagnosis and therapy) with the client's family.

There are a few minor specialists, mainly acting as non-initiate assistants to the major ones. The làma's associate, the gụrba (<?), is responsible for the organization of the death-feast, and his office is now on the verge of becoming defunct. The helper of a bọmbo is the syẹro (? < Tib. *bśes-grogs, 'friend'), a person with a keen interest in, and familiarity with, the bọmbo's work, but whose initiation has not yet been performed because no phamo has been found for him. The saṅduṅ (p. 24)

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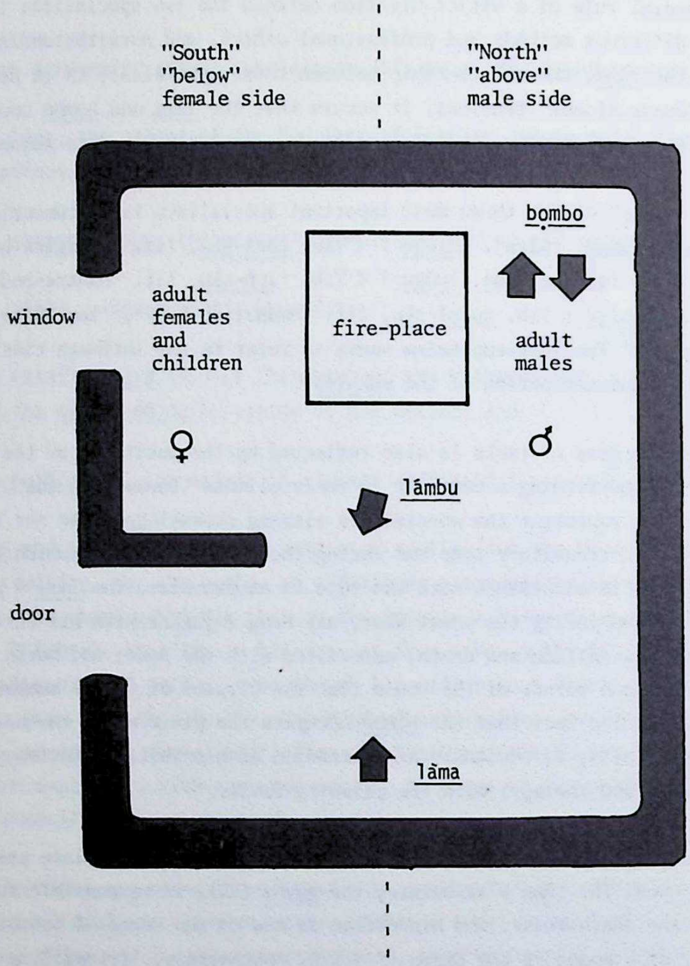
* In Das (1970: 429) ćhos-kyi-sku, 'the spiritual form or the existence (of a Buddha)'.

** This etymology was suggested by the informants themselves, cf. Tib. luṅ, 'admonition', 'spiritual exhortation', hence T. lụṅ, 'mantra'. The shift from lụṅ to luṅ- in luṅgu remains unexplained.

*** In the ritual texts, the mukhiyā is called yulgi pombo < Tib. yul, 'area', country', + dpon-po, 'master', 'leader'.



"South"
"below"
female side
"North"
"above"
male side
bọmbo
window
adult females and children
fire-place
adult males
♀
♂
lāmbu
door
lāma

can perform some minor tasks of the *lā́mbu* or *bọmbo*: he can examine the pulse of the sick or render a witch harmless by counter-magic. The ambivalence of his craft is illustrated by the fact that it is considered highly impolite to call somebody openly a *saṅduṅ*. — Among the educated, there are some experts in interpretating the Nepalese astrological calendars. Their advice is much sought after, all the more so, as nobody knows his way around the Tibetan calendar any longer (cf. Appendix).

All communal and most of the private ceremonies for the benefit of a household are performed by specialists. As to the latter type of ceremony, only the cult of the clan gods and some small-scale rituals are the responsibility of laymen. Among such rituals are ceremonies accompanying a wedding, worship of certain Hindu divinities according to a vow, curing rituals for the cattle or the act of reserving an egg or an animal for a sacrifice to be carried out later on with the help of a specialist, etc.

The *làma*, *lámbu* and *bọmbo* require some further remarks.

The làma

The *làma* is the specialist of the most respected and least transparent branch of Tamang religious tradition. The prestige once attached to the *làma*'s person and teaching has declined, but is still manifest in a number of symbolic acts and in the language. A specific high-grade honorific reserved for him is still employed, even though no longer consistently. When addressing him, laymen use *pheppa*, *chyoppa* and *dẹn.chya:ba*, instead of *sye:ba*, *solba* and *syụ:ba*, the middle-grade honorific of the verbs for 'to go', 'to eat' and 'to sit', respectively.

Although still the "official religion" of the Tamang in both their own view and that of their neighbours, Lamaism has increasingly lost what I would call its actuality or relevance. The growing distance from the cultural hinterland of Tibet, the general poverty impeding the establishment of monasteries and the political dominance by the Nepalese with acculturation as its consequence are the chief factors accounting for this development. In the fieldwork area, no *làma* is able to read Tibetan texts fluently. They have only a rough idea of what they are reciting, and their training consists of learning by heart the recitations written down in their manuscripts, some of which show poor orthography.

Unlike others, a *làma* never lets the hair-lock (T. *broṅdo*, N. *ṭupi*) grow on the fontanelle of his head and has to refrain from slaughtering animals. He is not supposed to plough, but this prohibition is often disregarded if he is from a poor family. Apart from his rosary, he does not differ from laymen in his dress. He is not competent for the divinities of modern Hinduism and for the *birs* and *masāns*. Except for the ceremonies connected with death, the *làma* can be replaced by other specialists in all other important rituals; the choice depends on the tradition a village or family has.

The *làma*'s tasks are as follows:

(1) The death ceremonies: (a) The consecration of a corpse by pulling out its hair-

lock. This act is called *phowa* and corresponds to the Tibetan *'pho-ba*, 'transfer' into another sphere of existence by causing the mind (Tib. *sems*) to leave the corpse through the fontanelle (cf. Tucci 1970: 112 ff., 214 ff.). Actually, the hair-lock is wound around the "thunderbolt" symbol (T. *dọrjye*) and gently pulled out while the *mantra* "hikka!" is uttered. In the Tamang view, this is to make the deceased "like a *làma*" who has already been deprived of his hair-lock at the time of his initiation. — (b) Ceremonies conducted at the cremation place. (c) The secondary disposal of the dead over an effigy and in the framework of a death-feast resembling a feast of merit and in general lasting for three days. The feast is called *grạl* (cf. text 1,42).

(2) Ceremonies to avert a natural catastrophe expected as a result of a pregnancy where the genitor's identity is unknown or disputed. This is not to sanction pre- or extramarital intercourse as such, but rather to clarify the status of the progeny of a suspected incest or illicit sexual contact with an Untouchable, which would defile the *syịbda-nè:da* of the village. The immediate effect of such pregnancies is called *thab.syọb* < Tib. *thab-gźob*, 'burnt smell', < Tib. *thab*, 'hearth'. Actually, the connection with the hearth (MT *phu:*) is not known, but the word reminds one of the Tibetan conception of the hearth-god, the *thab-lha*, whose anger arises when the hearth is polluted (cf. Hoffmann 1950: 169 ff., and Tucci 1970 127).

(3) The blessing of the harvest. Some *làmas* even visit the Hindu households in the neighbouring villages to get a handful of grains for their services,

(4) Ceremonies within the bounds of the Dasāī̃ festival: (a) Absolution from the "sin of killing" (*lạyo* < Tib. *la-yogs*, 'retribution') for those who slaughtered the sacrificial buffalo; and (b) performing the *kra grạl*, lit. 'death-feast (of) the head', over the same buffalo.

The following rituals have been increasingly taken over by other specialists:

(5) Placating the *lus* in case they have been offended (s. p. 16). (6) The consecration of a new house. (7) Exorcism if a household is permanently troubled by illness or ill-luck. (8) The *nàmjyuṅ* (T.) or *nwāran* (N.), the purification of the mother and her baby 3, 5, 7 or 9 days after childbirth, connected with the name-giving ceremony.

The following rituals are no longer the responsibility of the *làmas*:

(9) Healing — now the main task of the *bọmbo*. (10) Averting the possible negative effects of certain omina, such as a cock crowing before daybreak, an inauspicious dream or a landslide, etc. (11) The *chyèwar* (< N. *chewar/kṣaur*, 'shaving'), the first

hair-cut for a boy performed at the age of three by his mother's brothers who bind a turban around his head. From now on, the hair-lock (*broṅdo*) of the boy must be spared and can only be trimmed slightly from time to time.

According to the informants, *làmas* have never taken an active part in the ceremonies connected with betrothal and wedding, which are, by the way, much less important than those for the dead.

The bọmbo

For want of a better term, I render *bọmbo* by 'shaman'. In spite of the etymology of the word *bọmbo* < Tib. *bon-po*, this branch of Tamang tradition has hardly anything to do with the Tibetan Bonpo religion in its "organized" form (on the various meanings of Bon cf. Snellgrove 1957: 289 f.).

Only the *bọmbo* is able to transcend the levels of the "purely verbal" and the "ordinary reality" by virtue of his particular energies generated by drumming and dancing. These energies are called *ṅoiḍub* or *ṅàrgyel* < Tib. *dṅos-grub*, 'supernatural powers of a saint', and *ṅa-rgyal*, 'pride', 'arrogance', respectively (Jäschke 1949: 474, 125). The shaman establishes his contact to the superhuman mainly (but not exclusively) by means of specific ecstatic techniques, such as trance and possession. His "direct communication" with the superhuman includes:

(a) *lari ñiba*, lit. 'to go in/to the god', or *nè:ri ñiba*, lit. 'to go to the other world', denote a ritual journey in a trance; and

(b) *lajye cuṅba*, lit. 'to be grasped by the god', means both
- *gọri yùba*, 'to descend on one's back', an expression denoting a state of intensive possession and identical in meaning with Tib. *lha 'bab-pa*, 'the mystical entering of a deity into a human body' (Jäschke 1949: 599); and
- revelation or inspiration (cf. text 1,19).

Possession manifests itself mostly by a trembling of the body — *chyèkpa*, in contrast to "profane trembling" *dạrba*, 'to shiver with cold/fever'. By revelation I mean the receipt of a message. Thus, the shaman enumerates long lists of possible causes of a trouble until he feels a slight quivering in his body; the name that immediately precedes this quivering (a trembling reduced in its intensity) is that of the "right", actual cause in question.

The *bọmbo* acts with the help of his individual tutelary, the *phamo* (cf.p. 20), but also with that of the *bọmbos* among his ancestors. The latter are referred to as a sort of "spiritual descent line", *kàwa* or *càwa* < Tib. *ka-ba*, 'pillar' (figuratively), and Tib. *rca-ba*, 'root', respectively (cf. text 1,8).

To experience a mystic vocation is *phamo nẹppa*, 'to be sick with the *phamo*'. The symptoms of this "sickness" are virtually identical with what has been described in connection with classical shamanism in North Eurasia. Besides certain dreams and visions, temporary uncontrolled trembling is an unmistakable sign of vocation, and the person affected will soon seek a teacher, *gúru* (< N. *guru*). The *gúru*'s task consists of three main steps: (a) teaching the ritual texts and techniques, (b) presenting his adept with some ritual implements, at least with a drum, and (c) performing the adept's initiation. It is at the initiation ceremony, that the *gúru* choses a tutelary, *phamo*, for the adept by a sort of divination.

The *bọmbo*'s ritual implements are borrowed from Lamaism and Hinduism. The most important one is the drum, *ṅạ* < Tib. *rṅa*, identical with the one used by Tamang and Tibetan lamas. It has a handle, the pointed end of which serves as a weapon to "fix" or to "pierce" the evil to be exorcised, and is beaten with a curved drum-stick. Some further implements are: the ritual dagger, *phurba* (< Tib. *phur-bu*), the thighbone trumpet, *kàṅliṅ* (< Tib. *rkaṅ-gliṅ*), the trident of Śiva (N. *trisul*), the skull of a horn-bill representing a mythical bird, the *khyuṅ* (in Tibet = Garuḍa), an important helper while fighting with the superhuman adversaries.

When performing a ceremony, the *bọmbo* uncoils his long hair-lock, which corresponds to the *brọṅdo* of laymen, but is never trimmed. The hair-lock of a *bọmbo* is called *ralbo* (< Tib. *ral-pa*, 'long hair', 'mane'). He dons a (usually white) skirt which is fastened around his hips with a cloth belt and reaches to his ankles. The skirt is called *jāmā* (N.). On the *bọmbo*'s chest and back, two strings of the Elaeocarpus fruit (N. *rudrācche mālā*) and two straps or chains with small bells are worn cross-wise and in such a way that one string and one strap reach from the left shoulder to the right hip, while the other pair reach from the right shoulder to the left hip. The straps are called *syaṅsyaṅ-rọlmo* < Tib. *gśaṅ*, 'a low, broad bell', + *rol-mo*, 'music' (on the *gśaṅ* cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 13, 256-258).

With regard to rôle and tasks, the data on the Tamang shaman almost fully fit the admirable definition which Macdonald (1976) gave of the *jhā̃kri* in the Darjeeling area; they also show a number of parallels to Miller's (1979) thorough description of the "faith-healers" in eastern Central Nepal. The Tamang *bọmbo* is essentially a healer competent for both humans and cattle. Ideally, he is expected to be skilled in the curing of both ailments with "natural" and ailments with "supernatural" causes. In reality, however, relatively few *bọmbos* know more than the laity about herbs and other substances traditionally used in the treatment of wounds, broken limbs, intestinal troubles, etc. Characteristically, when an illness becomes chronic, an originally "natural" cause is often believed to have been aggravated by a "supernatural" one, such as a *la*, *máṅ*, *syimo* or an inauspicious constellation, *graha* or *daŝā* (N.).

The ecstatic techniques are employed mainly in order to gain confirmation of a diagnosis or as a means of therapy. The first step is, however, a pondering or thinking over (*bijar* < N. *bicār*); the anamnesis is as important as the examination of symptoms and pulse-feeling for the final diagnosis.

The main ceremonies performed by the *bọmbo* are as follows:

(1) The *dím kyòmba*, lit. 'to repair the house', i.e., the consecration of a new house or the renewal of such a consecration in case of some endemic disease or chronic ill-luck.

(2) The *nẹppa kyòmba* (*nẹppa*, 'the sick'), intervention in the case of an acute sickness with a "supernatural" cause.

(3) A periodic ceremony to placate a *cen* (p. 15) troubling a woman in the client's house.

(4) The *kòla cyolba*, placing a small child (*kòla*) under the particular protection of a *māi*, a Hindu goddess, against a vow. The ceremony of *kòla phappa* (*phappa*, lit. 'to take down') marks the end of this protection and is performed over the child at the age of three. In the case of a boy, this ceremony coincides with his *chyèwar* (s. p. 30-31).

(5) The *nwāran* (cf. p. 30).

(6) Periodic worship of one's own *phamo* and *kàwa*.

Except for the last one, all ceremonies take place in the client's house. They are night-long séances with a complex set of rituals, such as the invocation of a large number of divinities, divination and oracle, search for, and fight with, the trouble-makers, offering the latter a scape-goat, purification and blessing of the members of the client's family, etc., accompanied by an impressive repertoire of recitations.

(7) Some *bọmbos* also participate in certain Hindu fairs in the company of their clients who fulfill a vow and wish to have the boon of the divinity bestowed upon their wives so that they may give birth to a son.

The *làma* is bound by a doctrine based on written sources, and he is a specialist of the whole community. The *bọmbo*, by contrast, is independent of any organization, an individualist by virtue of his vocation, who follows his revelations and his own preference for certain kinds of rituals often deviating from the practices of other *bọmbos*. His clients are individuals and households, and not the village as such. Often, the *bọmbo*-client relationship tends to be hereditary, and on the client's side, a son may call the son or adept of the *bọmbo* who served his father's family. But this is not the norm. Anyone who is dissatisfied with a *bọmbo* may seek the advice of another one — and it is, then, his problem to make the former's diagnosis rhyme with that of the latter. In one instance, I counted nine *bọmbos* who were consulted successively in two days about a man who had allegedly been poisoned. It also occurs that a client resorts to different *bọmbos* for different tasks.

The myth of the First Shaman, Dụnsur Bọn, and the First Lama, Urgyen Pe:ma (or Gálden Làma) explains the difference between the *làma* and the *bọmbo.* The Bọmbo first acts in the work of Creation as an equal partner of the Lama, and the trouble starts when he performs the funeral rites — an exclusive domain of the *làma* — and works as a *bọmbo* at night and as a *làma* during the day. The Lama finally overpowers and kills the Bọmbo in a magic fight. That is why the *bọmbos* of our day revere four other primordial Bọmbos (identified as sons or adepts of Dụnsur), and not Dụnsur Bon himself, as the founders of their spiritual descent lines, the *kàwas*. The idea behind the myth is that the superiority of the *làma* and the present division of labour between him and the *bọmbo* is embedded in the world order, and that it is thanks to the *làma* that this order has been re-established after a transgression for which the *bọmbo* is to be blamed.

This hierarchical complementarity is free from repercussions in everyday life, but finds its expression in some symbolic acts in the sphere of ritual. When a *bọmbo* dies without male progeny and without having trained a disciple of his own, his drum must be handed over to the *làmas* — from whom the drum was "stolen" (imitated), as one informant remarked. The *làma* never pastes the "holy mark", *ṭikā* (N.)* on to the forehead of a *bọmbo* or *lámbu*, "because their rituals involve the killing of animals".

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* Such a *ṭikā* is believed to be the vehicle of the blessing of the divinity invoked. A Tamang *ṭikā* is of fresh butter. — Among Hindus, members of the impure castes must not give a *ṭikā* to members of the pure castes. Although not prohibited by the Legal Code of 1854, usually a Brahmin does not even accept a *ṭikā* from a pure-caste person who is not Brahmin (cf. Höfer 1979: 109). — The present Tamang custom of applying a *ṭikā* on to one's forehead must have been borrowed from the Hindu neighbours. That the ethnographer always obtained his *ṭikā* of butter on his thumb and had to apply it himself in the same manner as a *bọmbo* or *lámbu* was justified by his status-neutrality:"Sahibs have no caste (hierarchy), and we don't know much about their way of living." Cf. also text 1, introduction.

Instead, they receive the *ṭikā* on their thumbs and apply it to their foreheads themselves.

This ideal inferiority of the *bọmbo* is no doubt counterbalanced by his indispensability in everyday life. Hall's (1978: 66) observation that, among the Tamang of the upper Trisuli valley, the shamans seem to have few new recruits and are overshadowed by the *làmas* in their importance, is not valid for my fieldwork area. In June 1974, I counted in Cautārā village 6 initiated *làmas*, 6 *bọmbos*, as well as 2 *lámbus*, 2 *saṅduṅs* and 6 *pujāris*. The village had, at that time, 546 Tamang inhabitants in a total of 108 households, that is 1 *làma* and 1 *bọmbo* per 18 households or 91 inhabitants. Not included are 96 blacksmith (Kāmi) inhabitants with 20 households, among whom there were 3 *bọmbos*. Kāmi *bọmbos* largely imitate their Tamang colleagues and often recite in Tamang. Regardless of their untouchability, a Tamang layman may call a Kāmi *bọmbo* (or *jhā̃kri*, as he is called in Nepali) and, vice versa, many Kāmi clients rely on the service of a Tamang *bọmbo*. In both cases, the *bọmbo* performs his ritual in the porch of the client's house.

The lámbu

The etymology of the word is unclear. A.W. Macdonald (personal communication) suggests *lámbu* < Tib. *rlams-pa-ćan*, 'the one possessed by a demon' (Desgodins 1899: 953), from *rlom-pa*, 'to be possessed by demons' (Jäschke 1949: 538). I would, however, not exclude a tie with Tib. *lam*, 'road', taking into account the *lámbu*'s function as a non-ecstatic exorcist and his loose association with the *mukhiyā*, the leader.*

Just as the *bọmbo*, the *lámbu*, too, must experience a divine vocation manifesting itself in fits of trembling, dreams and visions. When a *lámbu* dies, one of his fellow-villagers, often his own son, will soon be plagued by such symptoms. One of the *lámbus* working with me asserted that he had been trained by his deceased father, who appeared to him in his dreams. And like the *bọmbo*, the *lámbu*, too, has his *kàwa* or *càwa* connecting him with the *lámbus* among his real ancestors (cf. text 1,8).

Contrary to the *bọmbo*, the *lámbu* has a very limited repertoire of texts and no ritual implements of his own. As a *bọmbo* informant remarked somewhat disparagingly, the only implement of the *lámbu* is the bamboo-tray (text 1, introduction), and even this is placed at his disposal by the household where he recites. The *lámbu*'s main, and in many cases exclusive, task is to exorcise just one *máṅ*, the Nakhle Máṅ (text 1). Some *lámbus* are also experts in performing the ceremonies connected with certain diseases of the cattle or with hunting (texts 2 and 4).

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* Cf. also Lepcha *hlā̆ bo/lom hlā̆ bo*, 'guide', from *lom*, 'road', and *hlā̆*, 'to go before' (Siiger 1967,I: 225). Lepcha *lambu/lón po*, 'minister', 'leader' seems less probable (Siiger 1967,I: 225; Chemjong 2026: 304), and it may derive from Tib. *blon-po*, 'high officer'.

Like the *bọmbo*, the *lámbu*, too, is a specialist employed individually by households. There is only one occasion on which he acts on behalf of the community: At the Dasāĩ festival, he gives a share of the buffalo, sacrificed in the name of the whole village, to the Nakhle Máṅ; and in a separate ceremony, he collects the divine blessing (*che:*), materialized in a white, snow-like substance appearing between the tips of his thumb and forefinger, in a *ṭikā* of fresh butter which will be applied to the foreheads of all the *mukhiyās* and important men of the village. (In the latter function he can be replaced by a *làma* or *bọmbo*, according to the tradition of the village).

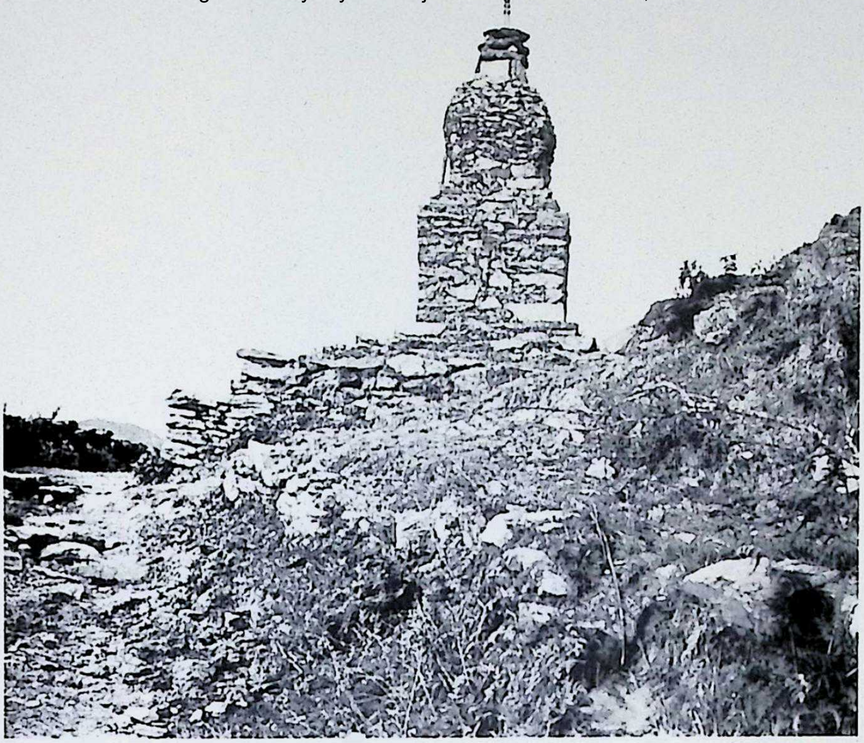
All this is true of what I would call the *lámbu* proper. In a wider sense, the *mukhiyā*, in his function as the performer of the *syịbda-nè:da* ritual, is also referred to as *lámbu*. On the other hand, in one (and as it seems, exceptional) instance, it was a *lámbu* who worshipped the *syịbda-nè:da* on behalf of the *mukhiyā* of his village. Thus, while clearly distinguished from the *bọmbo* and *làma*, the *lámbu* seems to have some association with the *mukhiyā*.

PLATES

1. Ploughing a maize field.
2. Temporary cattleshed (*gọra*).
3. A memorial (*máne*) to the dead.
4. A *bo̯mbo* with his drum, rosary and *syaṅsyaṅ*.
5. Lamas performing a libation with the *sòli*.
6. Villagers dancing at a death-feast.

1

2



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4. THE TEXTS AND THEIR TRANSLATION

The impact of Lamaism and Hinduism on the originally "tribal" tradition of the Tamang must have been considerable. While it is difficult to show which individual elements of this "tribal" heritage have survived as a residuum in the Tamang oral tradition of our days, the texts (along with the rituals connected with them) still reflect a worldview which has nothing to do with the soteriology of the high-religions.

The Tamang prays for physical and social well-being: good harvest, riches, health and some sort of harmony in his relations with others and with nature. Rebirth and salvation do not occur as themes in his recitations. (They do so in the lamas' texts, but this is another level of thought, only fragmentarily accessible to the laymen and indeed to most of the lamas themselves). His society lacks surplus production to feed a religious élite that could have brought forth or cultivated an ideology relativising all those all too real problems with which a peasant is confronted day by day. Thus, in the Tamang texts, there is no question of a principal discrepancy between Sein and Schein. The real world and man's this-wordliness are taken for granted. Benefit, instead of moral merit, and tabu, instead of sin, are the notions governing man's attitude towards the superhuman. Far from being an illusion to be transcended, man must accomodate himself with the world in which both the "good" and the "bad" are immanently present. All he can achieve is to contain, but never eliminate, the "bad" impending in every moment of life. Since he does not foster the hope for an End of Time as an "anticyclical" remedy to this state of affairs, his prayers have nothing missionary, raise no claim for expansion. No desire for individual growth to the detriment of others within one's own group is maintained — in a basically egalitarian community of hard-working peasants in a sparse natural environment. The (relatively) rich person is not exposed to hatred, but he is particular about avoiding the "conspicuousness of gossip" (text 1,2). Business is a good thing if it is "regulated" (text 1,2) — just as the steps of people dancing together must be "regulated". d̤i:ba is the verb used in both cases.

In comparison to Tibetan religious texts, Tamang recitations show a remarkable economy. Baroque masses of different beings, endless enumerations of names, attributes, etc. are conspicuous by their absence. Hyperbolic speech acts, if they occur at all, are performed by superhuman beings only — not by man. Totality is indicated by simple metonymies — and not by giving lavish descriptions of details. The "four corners" stand for the whole world, and the "lowland-upland-meadow-water" depicts the whole cosmic landscape in which a ceremony is being performed. Characteristic is the use of multisemantemes, such as, for example, cu:ba, a verb which means 'to prepare', 'to provide', 'to give', 'to offer', 'to perform' and 'to begin'. Suffixes are often dropped, personal pronomina rare, and recurrent metaphors and phrases are used in varying contexts. Of course, these very features also enhance the ambiguities in meaning and may be viewed as an expression of the esoteric nature of the texts. While all ritual acts have their own autodynamics in that they are expected to be effective by the mere fact of being performed in the proper way, the superhuman beings are nevertheless directly addressed: they must be informed, admonished and coaxed, and an essential means of conjuring them up is to relate the stories of their origins (ṭhuṅrap, kerap).

Even though I am certainly not the only anthropologist to experience this, I must confess to having been more often than not astonished by the "ignorance" of the ritual specialists. No doubt, the lack of analytical *ability*, making them helpless when working with the ethnographer, is mainly a lack of analytical *interest*. What accounts for them from the very beginning of their training is performing — and not exegesis.

Adaptation to a new cultural environment is certainly responsible for the fact that some of the original meanings have fallen into oblivion. But on the whole I doubt that the specialists of the oral tradition have ever understood, in our sense of the word, what they recite and especially what they have adopted from Lamaism and Hinduism in the course of centuries. What they have borrowed from these religions was not ideology, but vocabulary. As the tradition of an ethnic group like the Tamang has, to our knowledge, never been under the control of any central or regional religious authority, this vocabulary has been likely to become a gadget, surrounded by the prestigious aura of the great traditions, in the hands of illiterate specialists, each of them acting more or less in his own right by virtue of his individual experience of the sacred and before a rather passive public. For the laics, the recitations are a tradition-sanctified sequence of words or even pomp and show, the effect of which concerns them more than the lexical meaning. Except for the diagnosis, oracle and divination, which are of immediate relevance to them, laymen seldom ask questions. Since the specialists are not committed to expound them, the contents of their texts have never been formulated more precisely. They have remained vague ideas subject to individual interpretation which in turn depends on the necessity of situations and/or on the "whim" of one's intuition.

The bọmbo who, as one informant put it, "stole a lot from the lama and the Brahmin", seems to be the chief agent in this process of borrowing and inventing, altering and combining meanings. (He is permanently under the constraint of manipulating his patients, to shake off responsibility in the event of a wrong diagnosis and to make concepts fit various situations). The bọmbo is the Lévi-Straussian "bricoleur" per se, at work in every oral tradition. He benefits most from the fact that — as a consequence of history — Hinduism represents for the Tamang a much more actual frame of reference than does Lamaism. We can witness how the new names and notions are "misunderstood" by him; some obtain their specifically Tamang connotation, others lack any conceptual precision — yet they all "work" and mean "something" whatsoever.

All the texts presented in this book were tape-recorded, texts 1 and 5 on the occasion of a ceremony to which I was invited and text 4 in connection with a ritual staged for me; texts 2 and 3 were recorded in an off-stage situation, that is, without the ritual, for technical reasons.

Since I had preferred to write down texts from the tape and to discuss them in the presence of two or three informants, I often realised that the latter did not agree on the form of a word. For example, there was disagreement on whether *karda* or *kharda*, *lènṭe* or *lànṭhe* were correct. Similar deviations occurred in texts identical in content, but collected from different specialists. Needless to add that disagreement was far more frequent whenever the question of meaning was raised. When possible, such problems were solved through contextual interpretation. The "authoritative" version of a text was determined either by resorting to etymology and approaching the Tamang word to its correspondence in Tibetan or by a final revision with SB's assistance. SB, though not a ritual specialist himself, had a genuine interest in his own culture. Not only did he know a number of texts by heart, but he also possessed much intuition and the patience to think a problem over. One of his successful methods was to look for idiomatic expressions or proverbs (which were often unknown to the younger generation) containing the same words or wordings as the texts. I owe him a lot.

The bilingualism of Tamang men was certainly a great help. The informants were often more versed in the Nepali religious terminology than in that of their own language. On the other hand, their Nepali lacks the refinement characteristic of the literate Nepali-speakers' language. On the whole, I preferred the contextual interpretation.

As my aim is to show what the texts mean for the Tamang of today, in general I follow the indications of the informants. Deviations from this principle occur whenever etymology is thought to clarify the meaning of an expression unknown or only vaguely known to the informants. Thus, if I render T. *lud* by 'sacrifice', it is in following the informants, even though the word derives from Tibetan *glud*/*blud*,'ransom-sacrifice', and even though the Tamang context itself suggests the latter, more specified meaning. By contrast, I translate T. *ci* by 'calculation', because the informants ignored which specific type of divinatory technique was meant. Here I follow the etymology of T. *ci* which derives from Tib. *rcis*, 'calculation', as this rendering includes a number of divinatory methods, such as the counting of grains, observation of omina, astrology (Tib. *rcis-pa*, 'astrologer'), etc.

Certain expressions require more detailed comment. As a rule, they are explained only once in the notes following each section of a text. The reader is advised to refer to the index where it is indicated where a comment on meaning and etymology is to be found.

My translation is an interpretative one. The emphasis is put on making the "fabric" of the recitations transparent, that is, their specific techniques of discourse, imagery, poetical qualities and, last but not least, the way the Tamang informants themselves interpret a language which is no longer fully their own. If the English translation sometimes sounds clumsy, it is because preference has been given to the autonomy of the source language. In some instances, I have also preferred to "stick to the word" and relinquish a more elegant translation which would have concealed the difficulties the informants and I had in understanding the original.

As the texts are conspicuously sparing in their use of personal pronomina, the subject of the sentence is not always beyond any doubt. Personal pronomina in brackets indicate such passages. The sections and the punctuation have been introduced by me in order to facilitate the orientation of the reader.

In the transcribed text, textual emendments, such as lacking words or flaws are indicated by [ ] brackets, and grammatical emendments or morphological variations by ( ) brackets.

* * *

The description of the texts would be incomplete without a note on the way they are recited.

Formally speaking, there are certain sections which are sung while others are chanted in a "recitativo" or "spoken in prose". (Examples will be given in the second volume of this study). In general, the tempi are fast, and the observer often has the impression that the performer is eager to "get a move on". Especially long enumerations of places and divinities are spluttered in cascades, and the end of the sentences is frequently drowned in coughing or indistinct murmuring. This impatient and somehow careless way of reciting a text may hang together, partly at least, with the above-mentioned autodynamics of any ritual act, on the one hand, and with the rather passive rôle of the public, on the other.

In practice, however, much depends on the personality of the performer. There are some shamans reputed for their clear articulation and pretty voice; other specialists are known as "the raucous one", "the mumbler" or "the one who swallows one half of the text", etc. Some tend to adumbrate the genre of a section of a text: they implore, coax, lament, give harsh commands or elegiacal descriptions with much empathy or even with a slight theatrical complacency. Others achieve only a minimum of emotional expression and give themselves up to the rhythm or recite monotonously.

Artistic talents are regarded as merely individual characteristics with no influence on the success of a ritual. Yet clients always shake their heads in disapproval if a specialist drinks too much and/or gets confused, for such failures may lead to an adverse effect.

A text is supposed to be recited with earnest and concentration, and this is not always easy in the presence of the laymen: onlookers who do not stop chatting, helpers who vehemently discuss a detail of the next step of the ceremony and women who go on working in the household. A "big shot", whom nobody dares to contradict, may even interrupt a ritual and force the specialist to proceed according to his instructions; this only rarely happens, however. Every longer ceremony requires a number of pauses in which the performer joins the conversation, makes jokes about himself, teases the girls present and is served brandy (raksi). This latter is considered an invigorating substance and is thus much sought after by the bọmbo, in particular, in his night-long séances. Only the worship of the syịbda and of the Hindu divinities exclude alcohol in that it is not taken *during* or *before* the ritual.

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TEXT 1

TEXT 1
THE NÀKHLE MÁṄ CEREMONY

The present ceremony was recorded in February 1971; it was performed by a *lámbu* generally respected as one of the most skillful specialists of the area. He was introduced to me as a man who "unlike other *lámbus*" would be able "to explain the meaning of every word" of his text. This was not the case. He proved to be a prototype of the traditional Tamang gentleman, frank and painstakingly polite at the same time, but his being addicted to alcohol rendered communication with him difficult, even in the presence of other informants who did their best to make my questions understandable if they happened to be too abstract or not suitably formulated.

I attended a few more Nàkhle Máṅ Ceremonies, performed by other *lámbus* in other villages, and found some slight differences both in the text and the ritual; these differences will be referred to in the notes. Informants insisted on stating that the Nàkhle Máṅ Ceremony was one of the oldest rituals and pointed out that, in spite of some individual variants, the basic concept and the general pattern of the ritual were the same everywhere. It may be added that some Hindus (I knew of cases of Brahmin, Chetri and Newar families) also resort to the Tamang *lámbu* and let him perform the present ritual in their houses.

For the Tamang, the Nàkhle Máṅ Ceremony is the most frequently held exorcistic ritual. Practically every household calls upon the *lámbu* to perform it regularly

- in the month of Cait or Baisākh (March-April) at the time of sowing (maize);
- in the months of Bhadau (August-September) and Maṅgsir (November-December) at the time of harvesting the last maize and the last rice, respectively;

and irregularly

- when a bride is brought home and the last stage of the marriage ceremony is performed;
- on the occasion of a childbirth;
- on the occasion of a *chyȅwar* (cf. p. 30 f.);
- before a death-feast (*gral*) to be held by the household concerned;
- after purchasing cattle, jewellery or copper vessels;
- when the crops are damaged;
- when members of the household or their cattle are troubled by a chronic illness.

In some villages, the ceremony is also performed

- at the Dasāĩ festival, in connection with the buffalo sacrifice, in the house of one of the traditional leaders on behalf of the whole community.

The ceremony is chiefly addressed to Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya, a name which, according to SB, derives from OT *wọṅ*, 'orphan boy', + *deṅ*, 'and'/'with', + OT *wọṅsya*, 'orphan girl'. Concerning their identity, the informants were uncertain and in disagreement.

Two interpretations opposed each other: According to one opinion, Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya are four brothers; according to the other, they are siblings, namely two brothers and two sisters. The latter interpretation seems to me more plausible on the grounds that in the text we have "Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya mẹ:me syí:", lit. 'Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya, the four relatives', in which -sya indicates a female. Of the four, however, only two, namely Khàida and Khaijyuṅ are mentioned by name in the text, and some informants saw in these the names of the two brothers. In MT, khàida means 'good-for-nothing', e.g., of a person who is lazy, but also intelligent enough to dominate others (as SB added), and khaijyuṅ is called a shy person with an introvert and anxious character.

No information at all was available on the identity of Mịge Ama/Mịgai Ama ('Mịga's Mother'?) Ta:suṅ Gyálmo (? < gyálmo, 'queen'), Mịge Ama Kormojyet Sasa Bạ:ri and Mịgai Ḍạmdo.

If I write Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya with a hyphen, it is because the addressee of the ritual is regarded as *one* máṅ resulting from a "union" or "coalescence" of four mythical persons. This "union" is also referred to as Mịga Syí:, 'the Four Mịga', or as Mràb Gụ:i Máṅ, 'the Máṅ of the Door-Corner', or yet again Nàkhle Máṅ, 'the Bamboo-Tray Máṅ', — an allusion to the bamboo-tray on which the offerings are arranged.

Besides the Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya, the lámbu also invokes

- the divinities which reside in various parts of the house (cf. p. 15);
- the clan god of the head of the household where the ceremony takes place;
- the syịbdas of the village and the neighbouring areas; and
- a series of Tamang, Tibetan and Hindu divinities of various places in Nepal, India and Tibet.

The text itself is structured as follows:

Section 1: Greeting and invocation of the four orphans.
Sections 2-3: Bid for support and protection.
Sections 4-16: The incense-recitation (saṅrap) consisting of the following parts:

- sections 4-9: incensing various parts of the landscape, various impurities emanating from death, birth, illnesses or clinging to the offerings and the performer himself;
- section 10: incensing the divinities in the various parts of the house, and the clan god of the client;
- sections 12-15: incensing the syịbdas interspersed with bids for protection.
- incensing Tamang, Tibetan and Hindu divinities in a long enumeration of names and places (rịrap) ending in Uiseme in Tibet.

Section 17: Invocation of the four orphans; apology for possible mistakes in performing the ritual; bid for protection.

Sections 18-20: Libation with invocations of the four orphans, the house-divinities and the syịbdas.

Section 21: Khàida is offered his special share of the libation.

Section 22: Khàida is exorcised.

Section 23: The origin of the hen-sacrifice.

Sections 24-26: Ensuring that the divination (in examining the intestines of the sacrificial hen) produce reliable results.

Section 27: Inviting the four orphans to take their sacrificial shares.

Section 28: After the slaughter of the hen: Bid for protection and apology to the four orphans repeated. Promise to relate their story of origin.

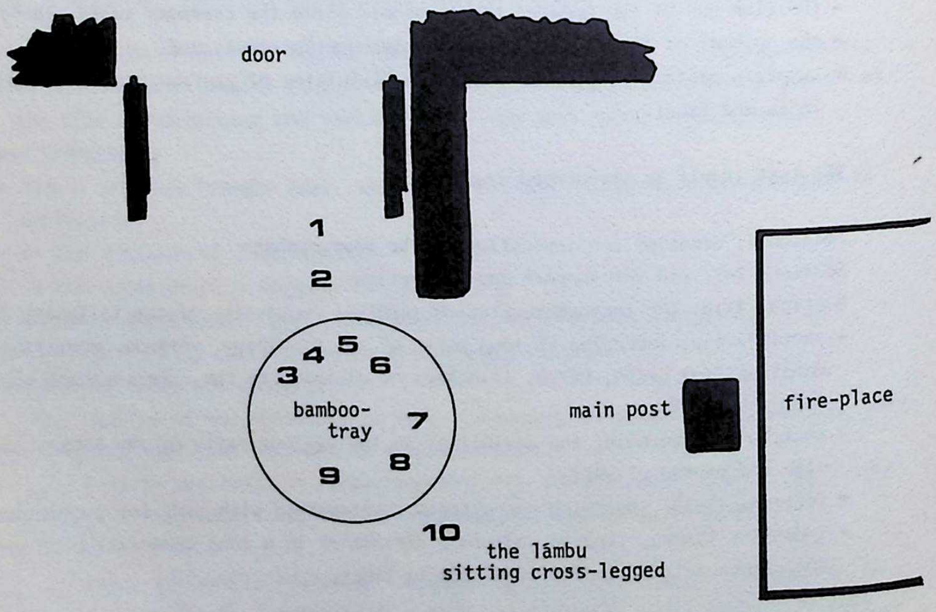
Sections 29-38: The story of origin of the four orphans and their ritual.

Sections 39-40: Offering the contents of the bamboo-tray to the four orphans; pacifying and exorcising the four orphans.

Sections 41-42: Khaijyuṅ is offered his special share of flour, fire, water and beer.

Followed by: Final bid for protection addressed to the house-divinities and the clan god.

While reciting, the lámbu faces the bamboo-tray on the floor and the open door of the house. The offerings and ritual utensils are arranged as follows:



1 = a young hen which has not so far laid eggs.

2 = a ladle-shaped iron censer (or a special clay-cup) with some dried leaves of the juniper tree (syukpa) as an incense smouldering on a few glowing embers.

3 - 6 = four leaf-cups each containing some grains of (raw) rice and maize as well as some mash of millet beer. Later, certain parts of the hen will also be put into these leaf-cups. The leaf-cups used for this ceremony are each pulled together on one side only, whereas usual leaf-cups are fully spherical.

7 = a fried egg on a leaf. This egg was reserved and promised to the four orphans long before the ceremony and kept inside the house on the lintel of the door.

8 = incense supply.

9 = millet beer (the mash of which is put into the leaf-cups 3-6) in a flat bronze bowl (N. baṭukā) on the brim of which three flakes of fresh butter are smeared as a medium "storing" the divine blessing. At the end of the ceremony, these flakes are smeared on to the main post of the house in order to convey the blessing to the house. (In another Nàkhle Máṅ Ceremony, the lámbu applied a bit of the butter on to the foreheads of the participants, just as the ṭikā is given among Hindus).

10 = a leaf-cup with husked rice which the lámbu will throw from time to time on to the offerings in front of him. This rice is the sergi mone (N. achetā) of the text and is, at the same time, an additional offering, a medium for purifying the offerings on the tray and also a substance capable of transferring the will or power of the performer on to an object, animal or person. As to the third technique, the power of a magic spell is first conveyed to the rice grains by holding it close to one's mouth and by blowing on to them (cf. section 23).

1.

hạ:y saṅo, hạ:y saṅo!,
khajye dẹmba dạrjyi, lạ:jye syịwa ṭoljyi,
hạ:y, ṭhuṅbam gyạgar dẹnḍi ṭhuṅba, chya:bam Uiseme Yạla Sowa nạṅri
   chya:ba,
Mịge Ama Ta:saṅ Gyálmo, Mịge Ama Kormojyet Sasa Bạ:ri,
Mịgai Ḍạmdo bọmoi chene,
kyamara syí:, khe Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya!

hạ:y, may incense be burnt, hạ:y, may incense be burnt!,
with (my) mouth, (I) have approached (you), with (my) hands, (I) have
   greeted (you),

hạ:y, as to origin, originated in India (?), as to residence, resided
in Uiseme Yạla Sowa,
Mịge Ama Ta:saṅ Gyálmo, Mịge Ama Kormojyet Sasa Bạ:ri,
Mịgai Ḍạmdo (=?) the name of the daughter (?),
the four orphans, you Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya!

NOTES:

- saṅo = hortative of saṅba < saṅ being the smoke of anything which is burnt as an offering-cum-purifying substance. Cf. Tib. bsaṅs which Tucci (1970: 220 f.) renders by 'suffimen' and derives from saṅs, 'to purify'. T. la saṅba means, in a wider sense, 'to recite', 'to worship', < Tib. lha bsaṅs, cf. Stein 1962: 173 f.
- lạ:jye < OT lạ: < Tib. lag(-pa), 'hand'.
- dẹmba dạrba/dẹndarba (OT) ? < Tib. bden-pa bdar-ba, 'to depose the truth' (Das 1970: 666). Cf. also Tib. bdar-ba, 'to invoke or pray to a divinity' (Snellgrove 1967: 300), 'to pray earnestly in casting lots and divination', 'to adjust exactly'.
- syịwa (OT) < Tib. źi-ba, 'calm', 'calmness'. The closer meaning of the verb ṭolba could not be clarified.
- ṭhuṅba (OT) < Tib. 'khruṅ-pa, 'to be born', 'to originate'. In most of the Tamang texts, ṭhuṅba figures along with keba (< Tib. skye-ba), the latter referring to the physical birth, the former to the event of being revealed as a divinity. No recitation is effective without the "story of origin" and the "story of birth" of its addressee, called ṭhuṅrap and kerap respectively, wherein -rap < Tib. rabs, 'series', 'succession', cf. Tib. 'khruṅs-rabs, 'legend of origin'.
- gyạgar dẹn, both meanings, 'India' (Tib. rgya-gar) and 'womb' were given. Since gyạgar repeatedly occurs with ṭhuṅba, one is tempted to see in this expression a reminiscence of the Tib. euphemism for 'India', namely 'phags-'khruṅs, 'the birth (place) of the holy ones' (Das 1970: 304). dẹn ? < Tib. gdan, as in gdan-sa, the 'place of residence'; cf. MT dẹn, 'seat', 'bench', 'platform'.
- chya:ba (OT), 'to reside' (hon.), etymologically probably identical with MT chya:ba, 'to remain', 'to sit' (hon.).
- ṭhuṅbam, chya:bam, -m/mi is an isolating particle, similar in function to Tibetan ni.
- Uiseme Yạla Sowa, Uiseme < Tib. dbu'i bsam-yas, the famous monastery of the Old Sect in Central Tibet, cf. p. 19 and below section 30.
- kyamara (OT), 'orphan' (?); syí: < Tib. bźi, 'four' (MT blí).
- bọmoi chene ? < Tib. bu-mo'i mchan, 'the name of the daughter'.
- khe mẹ:me .... < Tib. khyed, 'you', + MT mẹ:me, 'relations', 'kinsmen', ? < Tib.

smad, 'children in relation to their mother', as in bu-smad, 'wife and children' (Jäschke 1949: 426). Here 'siblings' appears to be the appropriate rendering of mẹ:me.

2.

khe mẹ:me syí: Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya!,
le:dap sọṅjyi, cyoldap sọṅjyi,
khaṅsai rạwa sọṅo, syịṅsai rạwa sọṅo, jyịnda dạ:bo, dạ:moi rạwa sọṅo!,
choṅḍi ḍọna dạro sọṅo, rùṅyo sọṅo!,
choṅ gyámnajedo, choṅ ḍị:najedo!,
khala sẹ:, nọrla yaṅ teno, brị:gi họṅ tempino, sẹ:la cyut tempino!,
mịgai hòyhòy ló:pino, mịgai dịrdir ló:pino!,
kha ḍị:najeppino, lạ: ḍị:najeppino!,
dạro sọṅba, puṅro sọṅba, lé:ro sọṅba,
chya:.jạlo!

You four siblings, Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya!,
(I) have asked for support, have placed (us) under (your) protection,
protect the homestead, protect the fields, protect the clients, the
Master and Mistress (of the house)!,
while (they) go trading, make (them) strong, guard (them)!,
make the trade go well, regulate the trade!,
keep (let not vanish) the mouth's food, the riches' blessing, keep the
crops' blessing, keep the food's blessing!,
avert the conspicuousness through gossip, avert the disordered noises
of gossip!,
regulate the mouth, regulate the hands!,
(you) make strong, assist, help (us),
Hail!

NOTES:

- Wọṅsya < MT wọṅsya as a general term for 'orphan', in OT 'orphan girl', according to SB.
- le:dap ? < Tib. legs(-pa), 'good', + 'debs-pa, as in mthu btab-pa, 'to pronounce a charm', or in gsol-ba 'debs-pa, 'to make a request' (Jäschke 1949: 279), cf. also further below the words kuldap, ñẹndap in section 13.

- cyoldap < MT cyolba, 'to entrust' (e.g., a child to the divinity, cf. p. 33), ? < Tib. ćhol-ba (bćol), 'to entrust', 'to appoint'; + -dap as in le:dap.
- sọṅjyi = past of OT sọṅba (MT sẹṅba), 'to make'. Here, as in numerous other passages, too, the verb is rendered in the past perfect "has/have asked", etc., for this tense conveys the anticipatory or continuative aspect of certain ritual and speech acts. Thus, *preparing* a ceremony is already *performing* it, and the fact of having arranged for a sacrifice is announced by "I have offered a sacrifice".
- khaṅsa (OT) < Tib. *khaṅ-sa, lit. 'house-site'.
- syịṅsa (OT) < Tib. źiṅ-sa, 'field', 'arable land'.
- rạwa,'protection', < Tib. ra-ba, 'fence', 'enclosure'.
- jyịnda < Tib. sbyin-bdag, 'layman', 'client (of a religious specialist)'.
- dạ:bo, dạ:mo < Tib. bdag-po, 'master', and bdag-mo, 'mistress', respectively.
- ḍọna (OT) < Tib. 'gro-na, 'if/when going'.
- dạro, in MT, means 'friend-helper', ? < Tib. zla(-bo), 'helper', 'friend', + grogs, 'friend' (hence MT rọ:, 'friend', 'associate').
- rùṅyo < Tib. sruṅ-ba, 'to guard', 'to protect', hence MT rùṅba, 'to guard'.
- gyámnajedo, ḍị:najedo were interpreted as OT hon. of gyámba, 'to level' and ḍị:ba, 'to arrange (in proper order)', 'to cause to harmonize', + imp. of jẹppa (? < Tib. byed-pa, 'to make'). The MT hon. forms would be gyámjeppa and ḍị:jeppa.
- khala sẹ: (OT) < Tib. kha, 'mouth', + MT -la (gen.suffix) + Tib. zas, 'food'.
- nọrla yaṅ (OT) < Tib. nor, 'riches', + gyaṅ, 'luck', 'prosperity'. For the Tamang, yaṅ, just as họṅ and cyut in the following phrases, is a sort of magic substance inherent in property. When, for example, a cock is sold the owner keeps one feather of it with him in order to prevent his remaining fowl from diminishing.
- cyut (OT) ? < Tib. bćud, 'essence', 'substance'.
- brị:gi < OT brị:, 'crops', 'grain', a synonym of OT brẹbu < Tib. bras-bu, 'grain', 'fruit'.
- họṅ ? < Tib. huṃ (the mystical syllable) or a variant of gyaṅ, s. above.
- tempino < OT tem(ba), 'to put', 'to keep', + imp. of MT pimba, 'to give'. This is an absolutive mirroring Nepali bhaideu, wherein the verb 'to give' implies that the action is to be carried out on somebody's behalf. ló:pino and ḍị:najeppino in the subsequent clauses are similar constructions.
- mịgai hòyhòy < Tib. mi-kha, 'gossip'; hòyhòy was explained as an OT word meaning 'curiosity', 'conspicuousness through curiosity'. On the Tibetan ceremonies for averting gossip cf. Schuh 1973: 419.
- ló:pino < ló:ba < Tib. zlog-pa, 'to cause to return'.

- dịrdir/dírdir ? < Tib. dar-dir, 'humming', 'buzzing', or Tib. di-ri-ri, 'buzz'.
- puṅro < Tib. dpuṅ-grogs, 'helper'.
- lé:ro ? < Tib. las-grogs, 'journeyman', 'workman'; MT lé:ro is 'helper of a ritual specialist', a sort of 'altar boy'.
- chya:.jạlo, often pronounced chyã:.jạlo, < Tib. phyag 'chal-lo, a respectful greeting formula.

3.

kyamma kyamlu thuppino, gọmma gómlu thuppino!,
jyịnda dạ:bo, dạ:moda brá:gai cima, chyugai camba [cu:go!],
bẹ:bi yùṅ sya:pino, jọlbi yùṅ sya:pino, nẹd khanuṅ.jẹppino, rịn
 khanuṅ.jẹppino, sonḍe-ḍẹmo khanuṅ.jẹppino!,
le:dap sọṅjyi, cyoldap sọṅjyi, ser.mạndal chya:deṅ phuljyi,
chya:.jạlo!

While reciting (?), let the recitation (?) be correct, while pondering,
 let the pondering be correct!,
for the clients, the Master and Mistress (of the house), [provide] steps
 on the steep slope, a bridge over the water,
remove the stone which causes (them) to stumble, remove the stone which
 causes (them) to make a mistake (leading to an accident), close the
 mouth of illness, close the mouth of epidemics, close the mouth of
 the sonḍe-ḍẹmo!,
(I) have asked for support, have placed (us) under (your) protection,
 have offered a "rice-circle" with (my) hand,
Hail!

NOTES:

- kyamma kyamlu ? < OT *kyamba ? < Tib. skyom-pa, 'to agitate', 'to shake', here with reference to a divination method no longer practised? On -lu cf. gómlu.
- gọmma gómlu < MT gọmba < Tib. sgom-pa, 'to imagine', 'to meditate'; gómlu ? < Tib. *sgom-lugs, 'method of meditation'. Tib. lugs corresponds to MT lụ:, 'way', 'method', 'wording'. Or -lu ? < Tib. glu, 'song', 'tune'.
- thuppino (cf. tempino in section 1) < thuppa (MT), 'to maintain (one's prestige)', 'to bear (the costs of something)', ? < Tib. thub-pa, 'to have under control'.

- brá:gai ? < Tib. *brag-kha'i, 'of the side of the rocks'. MT brá: means 'steep slope' (N. bhir).
- cima (MT), 'steps on a sloping surface, supported by stones'.
- chyugai (OT) < Tib. ćhu-kha'i, 'of the side of the water'.
- camba/samba (OT) < Tib. zam-pa; MT ca:m, 'bridge'.
- sya:pìno (cf. tempino in section 1) < OT sya:ba ? < Tib.'ĵog-pa (bźag), 'to put', 'to lay aside', + imp. of pimba.
- bẹ:b(a)i < MT bẹ:ba, 'to stumble upon', 'to get entangled'.
- jọlb(a)i < MT jọlba, 'to be at fault', < Tib. 'jol-ba, 'mistake'.
- yùṅ (MT yùṅba), 'stone'.
- nẹd, ṛịn < Tib. nad, 'illness', and rims, 'epidemics', respectively.
- khanuṅ.jẹppino < OT kha nuṅba < Tib. kha non-pa in expressions such as me'i/rluṅ-gi kha non-pa, 'to suppress the sharpness of fire/wind' (Jäschke 1949: 35), + hon. jẹppa + pimba (imp.).
- sonḍe-ḍemo < Tib. gson-'dre 'dre-mo, lit. 'living demon demonness', with reference to a witch (cf. pp. 20 f.).
- ser.maṇḍal < Tib. gser, 'gold', with reference to the "golden rice", cf. below sergi mone, + Skt. maṇḍala, 'circle', hence my translation "rice-circle" as the informants suggested. ser.maṇḍal is the husked rice arranged in a circle on a plate or on a leaf, which is the "bedding" (MT tissa) for some further offerings put on it. Cf. also Snellgrove (1979: 123) who explains that "a maṇḍal is a symbolic offering of the whole universe, represented by a set of rings of ornate metal... between which rice is heaped up".
- chya:deṅ, I follow the informants' translation by 'with the hand', even though deṅ (Tib. daṅ) is rather unusual in this context; one would expect the instrumental chya:jye. chya: (< Tib. phyag) is the hon. of MT ya:, 'hand', but in the ritual texts it can also be used with reference to Ego.
- phuljyi < phulba < Tib. 'phul-ba, 'to give'.

4.

saṅo, saṅo, saṅ solo!,
saṅrap ñẹmba saṅ solo!,
saṅma.dịri karma sạṅba(i), ñẹma, dạwa, chegara sạṅbai tiṅḍim saṅ solo!,
saṅbajyen mi saṅbajyene laru dạjye saṅba, ḍị:ba menḍu dạjye ḍị:ba,

saṅrap ñạmba saṅ solo!,
Mịge Ama Ta:saṅ Gyálmo, Mịge Ama Kormojyet Sasa Bạ:ri, Mịgai Ḍạmdo
bọmoi chene, kyamara syí:(i) syạlḍi sergi mone caṅmam chya:deṅ
ṅạri phuljyi, saṅ solo!

May incense be burnt, may incense be burnt, may (you) be incensed!,
listener to the incense-recitation, may (you) be incensed!,
while burning incense amidst (the constellation of) the auspicious stars, the auspicious sun, the moon, the favourable day, may (you) be incensed!,
as to those to be incensed, those to be incensed, (I) incense with the incense of the pure laru, (and those to be) perfumed, (I) perfume with the pure menḍu,
listener to the incense-recitation, may (you) be incensed!,
to Mịge Ama Ta:saṅ Gyálmo, Mịge Ama Kormojyet Sasa Bạ:ri, Mịgai Ḍạmdo, the name of the daughter (?), (to) the four orphans, (I) have offered pure golden rice with (my) hand, may (you) be incensed!

NOTES:

- solo, I have followed the informant's interpretation of it as a hortative, although solo < Tib. gsol-lo, 'it is served/offered with respect'. In MT, solo is the imp. of solba, the hon. of the verbs 'to eat', 'to drink', 'to smoke'.
- saṅrap is called that part of the recitation, in which various superhuman beings are invoked and offered what the informants translate by Nepali dhup and what I render by 'incense' as a general term for the smoke (saṅ) of certain substances, such as juniper twigs, butter, the resin of the sal tree or incense bought in the bazaar. Hence my 'incense-recitation'; -rap refers to the enumeration of various names, places and incenses, cf. ṭhuṅrap in section 1.
- ñạmba/ñẹmba < Tib. ñan(-pa)-po, 'the one listening/hearing'.
- saṅma.dịri/saṅbai.dịri, lit. 'at a time of incensing'; dịri < Tib. dus, 'time', + MT loc. suffix -ri. As will be shown below, such durative constructions occur very frequently in the texts, and I have preferred to render them as such, sometimes even at the risk of producing clumsy sentences.
- karma saṅbai (OT) < Tib. skar-ma, 'star', 'constellation', + bzaṅ-ba'i, 'good'.
- ñẹma, dạwa, chegara (OT) < Tib. ñi-ma, 'sun', + zla-ba, 'moon', + ches-dge-ba/ches-dga-ba, 'auspicious day'.
- tiṅḍim < MT tiṅ, 'heart', 'middle' (? < Tib. sdiṅs), + loc. suffix -ḍi (-ṭi, -ri) + the isolating particle -m/mi.

- saṅbajyen/saṅbojen < Tib. bsaṅs-pa-ĉan, lit. 'the one/that with incense', which can mean both the object of incensing or the agent incensing. Cf. also section 5.
- laru, menḍu are said to be two plants growing at higher altitudes and no longer used for the incensing ceremony. laru ? < Tib. lug-ru, 'the name of several species of Pedicularis' (Jäschke 1949: 548); menḍu ? < Tib. smin-drug, 'Eremurus spectabilis' (Jäschke 1949: 427; Das 1970: 991). Only one informant asserted that menḍu was the OT name of the dūrvā or dubo grass used in Hindu worship, Cynodon dactylon (Turner 1965: 315).
- dạjye (OT) < dạ ? < Tib. dag(-pa), 'pure', 'holy', + MT instrum. suffix.
- ḍị:ba (OT) < Tib. dri-ma, 'smell', 'scent'. In other texts, we have "ḍị:bajyen... ḍị:ba".
- syạldi (OT), lit. 'in/into the mouth', translated by 'to', syạl < Tib. źal, 'face', 'mouth', as in the polite expression źal-du gsol-ba, 'to eat/drink'.
- sergi mone (OT) < Tib. gser-gyi, 'golden', + ? mo-nas, 'divination-barley', here with reference to the rice grains (cf. item no. 10 in the introduction above). Barley seeds offered by Brahmins in the hom sacrifice are called pahẽlo achetā in Nepali, < pahẽlo, 'yellow'. On the use of barley in Tibetan divination cf.Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 458 ff.
- caṅmam < Tib. gcaṅ-ma, 'pure', + MT -m/mi.
- ṅạri = ?, it therefore remains untranslated. ṅạri ? < Tib. sṅa-r/sṅa-ru, 'ahead' (the lámbu throws the sergi mone ahead of him).
- phuljyi, saṅ solo!, cf. next section: phuljyim...

5.

saṅbajyene saṅrap ñạmbam saṅ solo!,
mrawai lụṅjye saṅna jẹsyiṅ paina dúbi camjye saṅ solo!,
lạgai chyejye saṅna syukpa bárlu dúbi camjye saṅbam,
pañjye saṅnam pañsaṅ-lúgu, chyujye saṅna chyudeṅ-dêrmo, rèkki lumbu
   saṅnam syiṅne-na:jo dúbi camjye saṅ solo!,
saṅrap ñạmba saṅ solo!,
sergi mone caṅma chya:deṅ ṅạri phuljyim saṅ solo!

Those to be incensed, listener to the incense-recitation, may (you)
   be incensed!,
when incensing from (the direction of) the lowland, may (you) be

abundantly incensed with the incense of the resin of the sal tree!,
when incensing from the upland, (I) abundantly incense with the incense
of the juniper bárlu,
when incensing from the meadow, (I incense with the incense of the)
Saussurea gossipiphora, when incensing from the water, (I incense
with the incense of the) chyudeṅ-dérmo, when incensing (from?) the
whole world, may (you) be abundantly incensed with the incense of
the syiṅne-na:jo!,
listener to the incense-recitation, may (you) be incensed!,
while offering pure golden rice with (my) hand, may (you) be incensed!

NOTES:

- "Those to be incensed, listener...": The incense is offered to various divinities and the Nâkhle Máṅ, but it is also meant for the removal of various impurities (s. below) in turn. Yet at the same time, each section seems to be addressed to a different superhuman being, a "listener". Meaning: "From among those (beings and objects) to be incensed, may you be incensed"?
- saṅbajyene, the final -e is a padding conditioned by rhythm and replacing the isolating particle mi, as it seems.
- mrawai luṅjye, mrawa = ?; luṅjye < OT lụṅ < Tib. luṅ, 'valley'.
- jẹsyiṅ.... syiṅne-na:jo, just as laru and mendụ above, the materials enumerated here are actually not used in the ceremony.
- paina (OT), 'resin', < ?.
- dúbi ? < Tib. dud-pa'i, lit. 'of the smoke', or < Tib. bdug-pa'i < bdug-pa, 'to burn incense'.
- camjye (OT) ? < Tib. cam, 'as much as'.
- lạgai chyejye < Tib. la-kha'i, 'of the side of the pass', but in MT, lạ = upland, highland (N. lekh); chyejye figures in other texts as chyo:jye wherein chyo:- < Tib. phyogs, 'direction'.
- syukpa bárlu < Tib. śug-pa, 'Juniperus', + bárlu < ?.
- paṅjye (MT) < Tib. spaṅ, 'meadow'.
- paṅsaṅ-lúgu, the 'Saussurea gossypiphora'; notice the homophony with paṅ.
- chyudeṅ-dérmo = ? Tib. ćhu-srin sder-mo, 'medicinal plant useful in leprosy' (Das 1970: 421). Notice the homophony with OT chyu, 'water'.
- rèkki lumbu/rìpki lumbu, 'the whole world', ? < Tib. ri-rab lhun-po, 'the mount Sumeru' as the centre of the world, or ? < Tib. *ri(-ra)b-kyi lhun-po as a con-

tracted other form of ri-rab lhun-po. — Notice the metonymy: In the previous phrases, all essential elements of the landscape (land-water, upland-lowland, etc.) are brought into connection with particular kinds of incense; now, the Universe is associated with syiṅne-na:jo, a proxy of "all" kinds of incense, cf. below.

- syiṅne-na:jo < Tib. śiṅ-nas sna-chogs, 'various sorts of trees'. syiṅne-na:jo is a bundle of twigs bent into a "U", the two upper ends of which are held in the performer's hands, while on to the bend some embers are placed. The smoke produced by the smouldering twigs themselves or by some incense strewn on the embers is also called saṅ. syiṅne-na:jo is identical with syiṅne-nargu in text 3, introduction to section 2. On a similar "burnt offering" among the Na-khi in China cf. Rock 1952: 230 ff.

- phuljyim = MT conjunctive of phulba, 'in offering'.

6.

saṅbajyene, yạra blọṅbi thapsaṅ rụ:ri pho:ba thamjye, mạra blọṅbi
    thapsaṅ rụ:ri pho:ba thamjye saṅ solo!,
karda rụ:ri pho:ba thamjye saṅ solo, marda rụ:ri pho:ba thamjye saṅ solo!,
sergi mone caṅmam chya:deṅ ṅạri p̣hulsyi saṅ solo!
saṅbajyene, saṅrap ñạmba saṅ solo!,
kewa rụ:ri phowa thamjye saṅ solo!,
syiwa rụ:ri phowa thamjye saṅ solo!,
sòwa rụ:ri, sòwa nạkpai rụ:ri pho:ba thamjye saṅ solo!,
sergi mone chya:deṅ ṅạri phuljyi.

Those to be incensed, (namely) whatever is affected by the thapsaṅ-
    impurity which arises above, whatever is affected by the thapsaṅ-
    impurity which arises below, may (it) be incensed!,
whatever is affected by the karda-impurity, may (it) be incensed, whatever
    is affected by the marda-impurity, may (it) be incensed!,
while offering pure golden rice with (my) hand, may (they) be incensed!,
those to be incensed, listener to the incense-recitation, may (you)
    be incensed!,
whatever is affected by the impurity of birth, may (it) be incensed!,
whatever is affected by the impurity of death, may (it) be incensed!,
whatever is affected by the impurity of life, of the dark life, may
    (it) be incensed!,
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand.

NOTES:

- yạra (OT) < Tib. yar, 'up', 'above'.
- mạra (OT) < Tib. mar, 'down', 'below'.
- blọṅb(a)i < OT blọṅba ? < Tib. sloṅ-ba (bslaṅs), 'to cause', 'to cause to rise'.
- thapsaṅ (OT) < Tib. thab, 'hearth', probably because the impurity was caused by, or resulted in, a defilement of the fire-place, cf. thab.syọb, p. 30.
- rụ:ri < rụ: which is said to be the OT equivalent of MT bạṅ, the impurity emanating from a corpse or from a woman after childbirth. — The purpose of the incensing is to purify whatever has been affected by the impurities enumerated.
- marda = ?. Perhaps < Tib. mar, 'red' (otherwise mạr- in OT), as in mar-grib,'defilement by blood' (Schuh 1973: 406)?
- karda = ? Perhaps < Tib. dkar-po, 'white', here with reference to saliva or seminal fluid?
- pho:ba < Tib. 'phog-pa, 'to befall', 'to affect'. Interestingly, in the subsequent clauses pho:ba becomes phowa, and I assume that here Tib. 'pho-ba, 'to change', 'to die', is wrongly substituted for Tib. 'phog-pa. On the phowa rite of the Tamang lamas cf. above p. 30.
- thamjye (OT) < Tib. thams-ćad, 'all', 'whole'.
- phulsyi = OT conjunctive of phulba. Notice the shift from MT to OT in the previous section and here.
- kewa (= MT keba) < Tib. skye-ba, 'birth'.
- syiwa (= MT syiba) < Tib. śi-ba, 'dying', 'the deceased'.
- sòwa (OT) ? < Tib. srog, 'life'.
- nạkpai < nạkpa ? < Tib. gnag-pa, 'black', also 'wicked', 'sinful'.

7.

phu:sari krè:ba, họserḍi phùmba, sergi nạṅ ṭhuṅba, ṅolgi nạṅ ṭhuṅba,
ṭhuṅbai jyạbu ùrmai kaṅbai ḍị:ma, lạkpai ḍị:ma, nagu, mị:gugi
ḍị:ma-ḍịbjyuṅ pho:ba thamjye saṅ solo!,
sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi,
saṅrap ñạmbam saṅ solo!

It crows near the fire-place (?), lays eggs in the beam of light,
originates in gold, originates in silver; whatever is affected by the impurity of the legs, the impurity of the hands (wings), the impurity of the beak, the eyes of the hen originating (in the egg), may it be incensed!,
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand,
listener to the incense-recitation, may (you) be incensed!

NOTES:

- phu:sari < OT phu:sa < MT phu:, 'fire-place', + sa, 'soil', 'earth', 'ground'. phu:sa = ? the surroundings of the fire-place inside the house. Nowadays, if the fowl is kept overnight insight the dwelling house, it is near the entrance and thus opposite to the fire-place. On the tape phujari, emended by SB into phu:sari.
- ho̤serdi̤ < OT ho̤ser < Tib. 'od-gzer, 'ray'. Here metonymically for 'daytime'?
- sergi na̤ṅ, ṅolgi na̤ṅ (OT) < Tib. gser, 'gold', here with reference to the yolk + Tib. dṅul, 'silver', with reference to the egg-white, + na̤ṅ, 'inside', 'in'.
- jya̤bu ùrmo (OT) < Tib. bya-pho, 'cock', + MT ùr, 'yellow', + -mo, the feminine particle. In spite of the etymology, SB and others insisted on 'hen' (MT yoma) which is actually sacrificed in the ceremony. Cf. also text 2, 9 and text 5,2 where jya̤bu sali and jya̤bu ke:saṅ are rendered by 'cock'.
- kaṅba, la̤kpa (OT) < Tib. rkaṅ-pa, 'foot', and lag-pa, 'hand', 'arm'. For 'wings' and 'forelegs' of an animal, the ritual texts always use la̤kpa — contrary to the colloquial language.
- ḍi̤:ma-ḍi̤bjyuṅ (OT) < Tib. dri-ma, 'dirt', 'excrement', + grib, 'defilement' + ? bsuṅ, 'smell'. In MT, ḍi̤b is the effect of a "sacrilege" of the syi̤bda-nè:da (cf. p. 13) or of the partaking of pork, regarded as impure by most of the Tamang.
- nagu, mi̤:gu (OT) < Tib. sna, 'nose' (here 'beak'), + mig, 'eye'; -gu ? < Tib. khu-ba, 'fluid', in *sna-khu and *mig-khu, 'nose-secretion' and 'eye-secretion' respectively?

8.

càwa gyúppa, àyo gyúppai lámbu do̤rjyei kai ḍi̤:ma, la̤:i ḍi̤:ma,
goima-go̤ijyen, nagu, khagugi ḍi̤:ma-ḍi̤bjyuṅ pho:ba thamjye saṅ solo!,
sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi,
saṅrap ña̤mba saṅ solo!

Whatever is affected by the impurity of the speech (?), the impurity
of the hands, the impurity of the dress, the nose and mouth of
the thunderbolt-lámbu who belongs to a spiritual descent line (of
lámbus), who has an inherited àyo, may (it) be incensed!,
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand,
listener to the incense-recitation, may (you) be incensed!

NOTES:

- càwa gyúppa < Tib. rca-ba, 'root', + brgyud-pa, 'belonging to', cf. p. 35. Aziz (1978: 53-57, 223 f.) explains that, at least in a modern Tibetan context, gyü (brgyud) is an inherited attribute or quality, such as the membership in one of the four social estates; tsa-wäi lama (rca-ba'i bla-ma) is one's personal teacher or guru. In MT, càwa lẹnchya is called the adept of a ritual specialist, such as the lámbu or bọmbo.
- àyo, SB suggested < N. āyu, 'life', 'age'. The word appears also in the epitheton àyo rạṅsyiṅ, applied to certain divinities said "to have created themselves", thus rạṅsyiṅ < Tib. raṅ-byuṅ, 'self-created'. Furthermore, the expression àyo nẹppa, lit. 'to be sick with àyo', is a synonym of phamo nẹppa, used with reference to the symptoms of the vocation experience of a bọmbo, cf. p. 32.
- dọrjye < Tib. rdo-rǰe, 'vajra', 'thunderbolt', here probably also denoting 'male'.
- kai < Tib. bka'i, lit. 'of the word/speech'.
- gọima-gọijyen (in other texts: gọila-gọijyen/-gọijen), gọi- < Tib. gos, 'dress', 'garment', as in gos-lag, 'clothes'; gọijyen ? < Tib. gos-ćhen, 'silk', 'Chinese satin' (Das 1970: 232), or < gos-ćan, lit. 'with clothes', that is, with reference to the impurity of that part of the body which is covered by the clothes the lámbu wears?
- khagu < Tib. kha, 'mouth', + -gu, cf. nagu in the previous section. On the tape: kagu, emended by SB into khagu.

9.

sakkaldiṅ kùi khari lọma caṅma chya:nem,
lọma caṅmai khari soma sòli syí: chya:nem, brị:la nargu, chyaṅla
   bạṅjyu chya:nem, dérma caṅma chya:nem,
dérma caṅmai khari chyaṅla ṅara chya:nem,
chyaṅla ṅarai khari karkyen sòmlo chya:nem;
sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi.

On the floor (?), there was a pure bamboo-tray,
on the pure bamboo-tray, there were four leaf-plates (and) sòlis, there were nine sorts of grain (and some) mash of beer, (on the tray), there was a pure metal-plate,
in the pure metal-plate, there was some juice of beer,
on (the brim of the plate containing) the juice of beer, there were three flakes of fresh butter;
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand.

NOTES:

- sakkaldiṅ kùi = ?. sa- < sa, 'earth', '(ground) floor', + -kkaldiṅ < ?, + kù, lit. 'nine', was suspected by SB to be correctly gụ:, 'corner'. Be that as it may, the offerings enumerated here are actually placed on the ground floor, as is always the case with the ritual of Nàkhle Máṅ.
- khari (OT), 'at', 'in', 'on', 'while', 'in the middle of', 'for', 'because', etc. depending on the context.
- chya:nem is the past perfect of chya:ba, cf. section 1. This past form is used in myths and historic references. Obviously, this section justifies, and thus explains the origin of the composition of the offerings and implements; but instead or relating a story, the present situation is simply described in the past tense in order to project it back on a mythic scenery.
- lọma (OT) = MT nàkhle, 'bamboo-tray', according the SB and the lámbu. lọma ? < Tib. lo-ma, 'leaf', originally with reference to a large leaf, still used in many other Tamang rituals, on which certain offerings are displayed?
- soma sòli < OT soma, 'leaf-plate','leaf-cup' (MT syòdele), ? < Tib. sog-ma, 'blade', 'stalk'; + sòli ? < N. soli, 'funnel', cf. introduction to section 18.
- nargu (OT) < Tib. sna-dgu, 'nine sorts' (of brị:).
- chyaṅla baṇjyu < OT chyaṅ < Tib. ċhaṅ, 'beer', + MT baṇjyu, the 'mash' that gathers at the bottom of the cup. One could also render it by 'dregs', for the coarser parts of the mash are usually not drunk. When only the juice is served, the mash that remains after pressing, i.e., the dregs proper, is called syabi and given to the cattle. The fermented mash itself (before pressing or being diluted with water) is peja. — baṇjyu < Tib. dbaṅ-ċhu, 'barm prepared from malt (sbaṅ-ma) from which beer has been brewed' (s.Jäschke 1949: 403).
- dérma (OT) < Tib. sder-ma, 'plate'.
- ṅara (MT), the 'juice', in contradistinction to baṇjyu.
- karkyen/kharkyen, here the flakes of fresh butter on the brim of the plate, cf.

item 9 in the introduction to this text. kharkyen < Tib. kha-rgyen, 'ornament at the mouth, brim or edge of a vessel'. Since the fresh butter is white, karkyen < Tib. dkar-rgyen, 'white ornament', is also possible (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 353).

10.

saṅrap ñạmba saṅ solo!,
sai la Temba Cuṅne,
nàmgi la Gọrmen Ḍólmo,
mei la Gọigar Ḍólmo,
phu:i la Alen Dẹwa,
dạ:i la Dạ:daṅ Ḍólmo,
paṅlep syí:, ḍạleṅ syí:, sergi dụṅma, yoi dụṅma nạṅri dẹndo syụ:ba(i)
   jyịndai tembai la mi Ḍạbla Ma:bon,
yáp sergi dẹnle syụ:go, yáp ṅolgi dẹnle syụ:go!,
chya:.jạlo!

Listener(s) to the incense-recitation, may (you) be incensed!,
God of the floor (earth), Temba Cuṅne,
God of the ceiling (sky), Gọrmen Ḍólmo,
God of the fire, Gọigar Ḍólmo,
God of the fire-place, Alen Dẹwa,
God of the (main) post, Dạ:daṅ Ḍólmo,
the client's Clan God, Ḍạbla Ma:bon, who thrones in the four shingles,
   the four beams, the golden beam, the turquoise (?) beam,
throne for a moment on the golden throne, throne for a moment on the
   silver throne!,
Hail!

NOTES:

- Temba Cuṅne/Temba Cyuṅne < Tib. brtan-ma bću-gñis, 'the 12 goddesses of the earth', whom Padmasambhava bound with an oath (cf. Houston 1974: 212 f.). In some other Tamang ceremonies, Temba Cuṅne is represented by a tormo, a dough-figure.
- nàm (MT), lit. 'sky', 'rain'.
- Gọrmen ... Dạ:daṅ Ḍólmo, cf. p. 15 and text 5,4. Ḍólmo < Tib. sgrol-ma, 'Tārā' ? One is reminded of the Tibetan belief, according to which the house-god (naṅ-lha)

occupies different parts of the house under different names during the seasons of the year. For example, it is called thab-lha, 'hearth-god', when it dwells in the hearth during the eleventh and twelve months (Waddel 1973: 129 f.; cf. also Tucci 1967: 127).

- paṅlep syí:, ḍạleṅ syí:, the number "four" seems to have a metonymic function indicating totality, just as the four corners stand for the 'Universe' in other contexts. — paṅlep (MT) < Tib. spaṅ-leb, 'board', 'slate', here with reference to the stone or wooden shingles now almost everywhere in the fieldwork area replaced by thatched roofs. ḍạleṅ (OT) < Tib. gral-ma, 'small beams', 'rafter', in MT supplanted by N. dalin, 'the rafters on which the ceiling of the ground floor rests'.
- dụṅma (OT) < Tib. gduṅ-ma, 'beam', here probably referring to the beams supporting the ḍạleṅ.
- yoi (OT) < *yo/yu(:) ? < Tib. gyug, 'turquoise'.
- dẹndo (OT) ? < Tib. gdan-du, 'on the seat'. Since syụ:ba is the hon. of ṭiba, 'to sit', and since the informants rendered dẹndo syụ:ba by 'to sit like a king', I have preferred 'to throne'. The word dẹn also figures in dẹn.chya:ba, the high grade honorific of ṭiba, used in addressing a lama.
- tembai la mi, as in numerous other passages, too, the particle mi functions here as an emphatic hiatus drawing attention to Ḍạbla. tembai la, cf. p. 14. Ḍạbla Ma:bon is invoked here as the ceremony is being performed in the house of a member of the Mạmba clan (cf. also text 5).
- yáp (OT) = MT yám, 'a moment'.
- syụ:go < syụ:ba (MT)(hon.) < Tib. bźugs-pa, 'to sit'.
- dẹnle ? < dẹn (cf. dẹndo); I have followed the informants' interpretation of -le as an OT locative suffix ? < Tib. -las. The context does not allow for deriving dẹnle from MT dẹnale, 'comfortably', 'at ease', < dẹba, 'to be easy', 'to be light', + adverbial suffix -le.

11.

sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi,
saṅrap ñạmba saṅ solo!,
mrâbgi la Gọmosyi: Rá:ja, dọi la Dọbon Chyembo Akam.bạ:ri Gẹndi
  Walai syạlḍi sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi.

(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand,
listener to the incense-recitation, may (you) be incensed!,
to the God of the door, Gọmosyi: Rá:ja, the God of the courtyard,
Dọbon Chyembo Akam.bạ:ri Gẹndi Wala, (I) have offered golden rice
with (my) hand.

NOTES:

- Gọmosyi: ... Gẹndi Wala, whereas the divinities just invoked in the previous section dwell inside the house, the lấmbu is now "leaving" the house through the door on his "journey" to various places, cf. below.
- Gọmosyi: Rá:ja ? < Tib. sgo-mo, 'gate', + Tib. bźi, 'four' (allusion to the four corners or the four gates of a building?), + N. rājā, 'king'. On the Tibetan sgo-lha who is believed to increase one's wealth, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 333.
- Dọbon Chyembo, Dọ ? < MT dọ, 'courtyard', + Chyembo < Tib. ćhen-po, 'great', 'noble', 'saint'.
- Akam.bạ:ri Gẹndi Wala < ?.

12.

Cautara: yạryar phola ne:ba, mạrmar dọla ne:ba, min mạsye:ba, chen
mạsye:bi syịbda ñiṅbai syạlḍi sergi mone chya:deṅ ṅạri phuljyi,
Brạ:gu khorsom ne:bi dạ:moi syạlḍi sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi,
Dạmdara Dẹuta: Bụra:syitta Mạ:deogi syạlḍi [sergi mone] chya:deṅ
phuljyi.

To the dear _syịbda_, *who dwells everywhere in the upper part, who*
dwells everywhere in the lower part of Cautārā, whose name is
unknown, whose honoured name is unknown, (I) have offered golden
rice with (my) hand,
to the Mistress, who dwells in the area of Brạ:gu, (I) have offered
golden rice with (my) hand,
to Dāmodar Deutā Bụra:syitta Mahādew, (I) have offered [golden rice]
with (my) hand.

NOTES:

- Cautara: < N. Cautārā, the name of the village of the client.
- yạryar phola (OT) < Tib. yar, 'up', + Tib. phu-la, 'in the upper part'.
- mạrmạr dọla (OT) < Tib. mar, 'down', + Tib. mdo-la, 'in the lower part'.
- ne:ba, ne:b(a)i < MT ne:ba < Tib. gnas-pa, 'to dwell'.
- min mạsye:b(a)i < MT min < Tib. miṅ, 'name', + OT mạsye:ba, 'not know', < Tib. bśes-pa, 'to know'. The lámbu enumerates a large number of places the syịbdas of which he does not always know by name.
- chen = the hon. of min, < Tib. mchan, 'name' (hon.).
- syịbda < Tib. gźi-bdag, cf. p. 12 f.
- ñiṅbai ? < Tib. sñiṅ, lit. 'heart', as in sñiṅ-rje, 'be kind!'. In MT, ñiṅjye means 'kindness', 'compassion'.
- Brạ:gu is the name of a rocky, steep slope in the forest, where the syịbda-nè:da of Cautārā is worshipped.
- khorsom ? < MT khor, 'ward' (of a settlement), < Tib. 'khor, 'circle'.
- dạ:mo, 'mistress', 'lady' (OT), here and in connection with many other places, the word refers to the syịbda, as the informants stressed without being able to explain convincingly why. — As the subsequent sections (summarized below) show, divinities of remoter places with no Tamang population are treated as if they were of the syịbda category. This seems to be the case with Dạmdara Deuta:, too.
- Dạmdara... Mạ:deo, Dạṃdara < N. Dāmodar. Dāmodar Pāṛe, the famous army leader of king Pratāp Siṅgh and the regent Bahādur Śāh, is said to have founded this cult place of Mahādew between Cautārā and Bhokteni. At the same time, Dāmodar is the epitheton of Viṣṇu or Kr̥ṣṇa, and the Dẹuta: < N. deutā, 'god', might be a later addition confounding the founder's name with that of the god. Bụra:syitta ? < N. Buṛā < buṛnu, 'to be immersed', as in the name Buṛānilkaṇṭh (often spelt Buṛhā-), the name of a sanctuary in the North of the Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley with an image of Viṣṇu lying in the water of a tank. -syitta ? < N. siddha, 'perfect' (of saints). Mạ:deo < Mahādew/Śiva. The history of the naming of this cult place by the Tamang provides a good example of what has been stated with regard to the origins of their pantheon (pp. 21 f., 38).

Following the same sentence pattern, the lámbu enumerates a number of dạ:mos of various places around Cautārā. Most of these places, such as peaks, spurs, fields, etc., have no cult places and are not associated with any particular divinity of the category of las. They are mentioned probably because of their belonging to the "domain" of the syịbda of Cautārā.

The lámbu then goes on and addresses the following prayer to the syịbda of Cautārā:

13.

yạra thu:jye sị:ba, mạra thu:jye sị:ba,
yạr(a) ḍọle rạwa sẹṅba, mạr(a) ḍọle rạwa sẹṅba,
nẹdgi chamjo, rịngi chamjo, sonḍe-ḍẹmoi chamjo,
mị:i ñẹndap, mị:i kuldap[gi] chamjo [sẹṅbai],
bọmbo ñẹmbi ñẹnsur, làma chebi chesur, saṅduṅ-praṅduṅ yèrmai dạ, jọ:gi
   bịdi thàṅmai ñẹndap thamjye ló:bi le:dap gạmo cu:bi
sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi.

For being looked after (while staying) above, being looked after (while
*   staying) below,*
for being protected when walking up, being protected when walking
*   down, too,*
[*for*] *binding illness, binding epidemics, binding the sonḍe-ḍẹmo,*
binding the harming charms of humans, the magic arrow of humans,
for asking for an effective support which averts the bọmbo('s) harming
*   magic weapon, the làma('s) harming magic weapon, the saṅduṅ-praṅduṅ('s)*
*   magic arrow (made) of yèrma wood, the yogi('s) formula, the harming*
*   charms which cause the thàṅma-illness,*
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand.

NOTES:

- thu:jye sị:ba(i) < MT thu:, 'mind', < Tib. thugs, + MT sị:ba (hon.), 'to see', 'to look after', < Tib. gzigs-pa. Cf. Tib. thugs-rǰe gzigs, 'look graciously upon me!' (Jäschke 1949: 233).
- sị:ba and sẹṅba refer to sergi mone and should correctly be sị:b(a)i, sẹṅb(a)i, just as is cu:b(a)i in cu:bi sergi mone. The genitive/participial suffix -i is omitted for the sake of economy in all but the last phrase(s).
- ḍọle (OT) < Tib. 'gro-las, 'after going', but it was interpreted on the basis of MT grammar where -e/-ne means 'too', as in MT khȁna dọ:lane, 'wherever he arrives', or khale(ne) taba, 'even if he comes, it's all right/if he comes, too, it is all right'.
- chamjo < Tib. mchams-gćod(-pa), 'to draw a line of demarcation' (a magic circle

around somebody or something) (Jäschke 1949: 455); hence 'binding' in the sense of fascinating or immobilising, as in English "spell-bound", cf. also text 4,2 notes.

- sonḍe-ḍemo, cf. p. 20 f.

- ñẹndap (OT) ? < Tib. sñad, 'false accusation', + Tib. 'debs-pa, 'to hit'; cf. also Tib. sñad 'dags-pa, 'to provoke by accusations' (Jäschke 1949: 196).

- kuldap (OT) ? < Tib. skul-ba, 'to exhort', 'to impose', + -dap < as in ñẹndap. My 'magic arrow' follows the informant's rendering by N. bān, lit. 'arrow'; cf. also kulma.dịri in the next section.

- ñẹmbi ñẹnsur/ñẹsur/ñẹsor, ñẹmba (OT) ? < Tib. sñems-pa, 'to be arrogant', or Tib. ñen-pa, 'to be pained', + -sur/-sor < Tib. zor, 'magic weapon', 'magic projectile' (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 355 ff.).

- chebi chesur/chesor ? < MT cheba, 'to be great', 'to be arrogant', < Tib. ćhe-ba, 'to be great', as in ćhe-thabs, 'arrogance', + -sur < Tib. zor as in ñẹnsur.

- saṅduṅ-praṅduṅ, saṅduṅ (cf. pp. 24, 27 f.) ? < Tib. gsaṅ(-ba), 'secret', + rduṅ-ba, 'to strike'; praṅduṅ = probably an echo.

- yèrmai < OT yèrma (MT prùma) = N. ṭimur = Zanthoxylum armatum, a thorny shrub, also used as a fish poison in Nepal (Anonymus 1970: 86, 143); the staff of the Kānphaṭa yogis is often of ṭimur wood (Briggs 1938: 22). yèrma ? < Tib. kyer-śiṅ, 'wood of a thorny shrub', a "poisonous wood" out of which the ritual dagger phur-bu is carved (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 346).

- dạ was also rendered by 'arrow', ? < Tib. mda', 'arrow'. It refers to a magic projectile made of the thorns of the yèrma, according to the informants. In our days, the dạ or dạser is believed to be shot by a máṅ or a saṅduṅ into the human body. It consists, when extracted by the bọmbo, of hairs, sand, splinters of the marble stone, moss or fragments of other plants, and causes a piercing or burning pain, cf. also text 2,6. dạser ? < Tib. mda', 'arrow', + gzer, 'nail', 'ray', 'illness'.
- jọ:gi biḍi < N. jogi(ko) bidhi, the formula of the yogi, most probably with reference to the yogis of the Kānphaṭa sect, who visit Tamang villages. They come at night in swarms, recite some mantras for the protection of the laymen and beg for alms. Their sudden appearance in the darkness and the eerie sound of their horns have not failed to impress even the ethnographer.

- thàṅmai < OT thàṅma, the name of an illness about the nature of which no information was available.

- gamo (OT) < Tib. dga-mo, 'pleasing', 'delightful'.

The translation of the next section is based on the emendments by SB, on the one hand, and the etymology, on the other. Several variants of the same sentence exist in other texts.

14.

mạñe:(ba)cenda mạñe: gọṅdo syụ:ba(i),
ñẹ:bi ḍạwucenda kulma.dịri kulma cya:ba(i), prùṅma.dịri calma cya:ba(i)
sergi mone chya:deṅ ṅạri phuljyi.

(To ensure that) the harmless one throne quiet,
(and that) the harming enemy, when sending the magic arrow, may be
watched while sending the magic arrow, when releasing (the arrow),
may be watched while spotting (the target)(?),
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand.

NOTES:

- mạñe:(ba)cenda < OT mạñe:bai, lit.'non-harming', 'non-guilty', + -cen- ? < MT cen (< Tib. bcan [demon], cf. p. 15), + MT dat./accus. suffix. Cf. also MT ñẹ:ba, 'to be at fault', 'to be guilty'.
- mạñe: gọṅdo was rendered by 'quiet' (?). In MT, gọṅdo syụ:ba means approximately 'to sit quiet', and in some villages the verb gọṅba is used as an hon. of 'to sit'.
- ḍạwucenda < OT ḍạwu < Tib. dgra-bo, 'enemy', + ? MT cen as in mạñe:bai cenda above? A bid for protection against the arrows of the "enemy-cen"?
- kulma.dịri kulma cya:ba < OT *kulba, 'to send a magic arrow (curse, formula)', in MT,kul pippa (cf. also kuldap in the previous section). -ma and -dịri are durative suffixes. cya:ba (MT), 'to look', 'to look after'.
- prùṅma.dịri < MT prùṅba, 'to release', 'to hit', 'to shoot'.
- calma.dịri < OT calba ? < Tib. 'chol-ba, 'to seek', 'to try to obtain', bcal-ba, 'choice'.

15.

Tìbduṅ yạryar phola ne:ba, mạrmar dọla ne:ba(i) [syịbdai syạlḍi]
le:dap sọṅba, cyoldap sọṅbai dẹso nạṅri sergi mone chya:deṅ ṅạri
phuljyi,
Gọmbo Gạṅ Cyaṅsyar Lamo, Màndịli Dẹwi(i) syạlḍi sergi mone chya:deṅ
phuljyi,
Byúruduṅ Saṅga Nạ:g Dẹwi, Kol Ḍãṛā yụlgi syịbda ñiṅbai syạlḍi,
Tili.jyẹt Kà:li Nạ:g, Mạrdeṅ Yùṅ La Kundu Sạṅbo, La Mẹgduṅ Rẹmogi

syạldi sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi.

[To the syịbda] who dwells everywhere in the upper part, who dwells
everywhere in the lower part of Tìbduṅ,
while asking for support, while placing (us) under (his) protection,
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand;
to Cyaṅsyar Lamo, Mànḍili Dẹwi of Gọmbo Gạṅ, (I) have offered golden
rice with (my) hand;
to Saṅga Nạ:g Dẹwi of Byúruduṅ, the dear syịbda of Kol Ḍā̃ṛā,
to Kà:li Nạ:g of Tili.jyẹt, La Kundu Sạṅbo, La Mẹgduṅ Rẹmo of Mạrdeṅ Yùṅ,
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand.

NOTES:

- sọṅbai dẹso naṅri (OT), lit. 'make-of time within', dẹso ? < Tib. dus-su, 'at the time (of)'.
- Tìbduṅ is the name of the village of the lámbu who recites. The subsequent names refer to places in the vicinity of Cautārā and Tìbduṅ. No information could be gathered on the divinities of these places, cf. below.
- Cyaṅsyar Lamo, Lamo < Tib. lha-mo, 'goddess'.
- Mànḍili Dẹwi, Dẹwi < N. dewi, 'goddess'.
- Saṅga Nạ:g ? < N. Saṅkar/Śaṅkara = Mahādew; Nạ:g < N. nāg, cf. p. 16 f. Referring to a cult place shared by Mahādew and a female nāg (nāgini)?
- Kà:li Nạ:g, referring to a cult place where the Hindu goddess Kāli and a nāg are worshipped?
- La Kundu Sạṅbo < Tib. lha, 'god', + kun-tu bzaṅ-po, 'the Primordial Buddha' of the Old Sect and 'the All-God' of the organized Bon. Here one of the names of the various syịbdas, just as La Mẹgduṅ Rẹmo < ?.

Following the same sentence pattern, the lámbu gradually moves away from the area of Cautārā and reaches finally Uiseme in Tibet (cf. p. 19). This long enumeration of places and divinities, to whom incense and sergi mone are offered, is the rirap ? < Tib. ris, 'region', + rabs, 'series'. Actually, as shown by the tape-recorded text, the lámbu mentions about 280 names of places in Nepal, India and Tibet, such as villages, towns, rivers, mountain peaks and crests, sanctuaries (all called gọmbo < Tib. dgon-pa, 'monastery', 'hermitage') as well as some particular places dominated by a máne, a memorial to the dead, resembling a Tibetan mćhod-rten (s. plate 1). The more remote the places are the less the lámbu knows about their location, although he is often able to relate some fragmentary legends connected with them. Even less is known about the identity of the divinities themselves. (Many informants were not even aware that the Nepali term dewi denotes a female divinity). In contrast to other texts (cf. the maps in the texts 2, 3 and 4), the places to be mentioned and the order of their enumeration are not strictly fixed, and the lámbu recites as many of them as he can. The more the better.

The first "ritual journey" leads to the Ganes Himāl massif. Some of the divinities mentioned are:

- Saĩlā-Ṭhaĩlā Dewi (N. lit. 'third-eldest-fifth-eldest goddess') of Ḍhokarpu in the Ā̃khu Kholā valley.
- Dụdgi Lẹgen Chyembo, a dụd, of a small lake near Sālme.
- Mármen Ḍólmo ('butter-lamp Tārā'), Ā̃khu Kholā valley.
- The holy lakes of Gosāĩkuṇḍ to the East of the Trisuli river, an important Hindu place of pilgrimage, also visited by Eastern Tamang bọmbos.
- Mọjyo Mengi Dạ:mo, Àya Singal Dọrjye, Phamo Yaṅri Ḍólmo, Phamo Khamja Rá:ñi of various places in the Ā̃khu Kholā valley.
- Mème Ṭha:gi Liṅma Nombi Dạ:mo (lit. 'grandfather pond of blood taking mistress') of Yaṅgara Jóṅ (=? *Yagra Kharka* of the Survey of India maps) in the Ganes Himāl massif.

After reaching the Pāldor peak and the lakes Kāloseto Raha and Ganeskuṇḍ, the lámbu repeats section 13. He then turns to the West towards Gorkhā, starting from the western bank of the Ā̃khu Kholā and invoking among others:

- Jạmna Rá:ñi (N. Jamunā Rāni), the goddess of the Hindu place of pilgrimage between the rivers Buri Gaṇḍaki and Ā̃khu Kholā, where the Gaṅgā-Jamunā fair is held (cf. Appendix).
- Yạbi Piṅbiṅ Ḍólmo of a place near Gaṅgā-Jamunā.
- Mankāmnā Dewi, the famous goddess of Gorkhā (T. Gọrkha.jóṅ), etc., etc.

The enumeration is interrupted by:

16.

chyo:syi, lĩṅsyi, dẹbgisyi(i) syạlḍi sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi.

To the four corners, the four worlds, the four multitudes, (I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand.

NOTES:

- chyo:syi < Tib. phyogs bźi, lit. 'four directions'.
- lìṅsyi < Tib. gliṅ bźi, 'four continents', with reference to the Indo-Tibetan cosmology with its 4/7/12/17 continents or islands.
- dẹbgesyi/dẹbgisyi was rendered by 'the four multitudes'. In the bọmbo's texts, the expression dẹbge pheba means 'to sort out of a multitude of things/beings/causes the right one', that is 'to find out the cause of a trouble'. Hence dẹbge ? < Tib. sde-brgyad, 'the eight classes' of gods and demons (lha-ma-srin sde-brgyad), also used in the sense of 'great many' (cf. Jäschke 1949: 295 and Das 1970: 718). The number four seems to be an adjustment to the four corners expressing the totality of space.

The lámbu now moves on to the rivers Marsyāṅdi, Kāli Gaṇḍaki, Seti Gaṇḍaki, to the regions of Pālpā and Tānsen, and comes, then, back to the Ā̃khu Kholā from where he starts towards the South and Southeast. Among others, he invokes the following divinities:

- Phamo Pàṅgu Rá:ñi of Pādle to the South of Cautārā.
- Yạbi Chemen Ḍólmo (identical with the one mentioned on p. 14?) of Deurāli to the East of Cautārā.
- Syìlpattar Mạ:deo (? < N. Śailāputri = Pārwati + Mahādew) of Kāule to the Southeast of Cautārā.
- Mahālaṭṭā Guru (? < N. laṭṭā, the 'hair-lock' of a jhā̃kri or bọmbo) of Birganj.
- Mahā̃kāl of Bijayapur, Lahore and
- Gyạgar Pànḍa Gyạgar Syìtta Gúru (lit. 'Indian paṇḍit Indian perfect guru'?) of India.
- Bhairawi Dewi of Nágor Jọ (= Nuwākoṭ) and of Dewighāṭ in the Trisuli valley.
- Saṅge Topliṅ Raṅsyiṅ Ṭhuṅba (< Tib. saṅs-rgyas, 'the Buddha', + MT topliṅ, 'lying on one's own back', + Tib. raṅ-byuṅ, 'self-created', + OT ṭhuṅba, 'to originate') of Bālāju in the Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley, that is, the supine statue of Viṣṇu/Nārāyan lying in a tank (cf. Wylie 1970: 28 f.). — This is followed by a number of other sanctuaries, towns and town-quarters in the Valley.

Finally, the lámbu "travels" along the Trisuli and Bhoṭe Kosi via Rasuwā towards the North and invokes, among others, the divinities:

- Kali Ama Họser Rá:ñi of Hạgu *(=Hāku)*.
- Ḍabla of Ñolo Brạṅge in Tibet (cf. text 4,10).
- Keroṅ Phawa Cere.sị: (< Tib. spyan-ras-gzigs = Avalokiteśvara) of Kyirong.
- Chai Núrbu Nombi Ȁyo Khambur Dọrjye (lit. 'salt jewel taking Ȁyo Khambur Dọrjye') of Kyirong.

The rịrap leads the lámbu through a long list of places in Tibet proper up to Uiseme and ends there. Except for Jóṅga (*Jongkha*) and Lhasa, none of the Tibetan place names mentioned after Kyirong could be verified on the maps available to me.

On "arriving" in Uiseme where the four orphans first revealed themselves (cf. sections 30-33), section 1 is repeated. The lámbu, then, goes on:

17.

Mịga syí: koloṅ thȁlo, thuluṅ thȁlo!,
ṅa cȁwa gyúppa, ȁyo gyúppajye karma sạṅba, ñẹma, dạwa, chegara sạṅbai
  tiṅri, lud phulba, yạ: phulbai dẹso nạṅri, khelu mẹssam chye:lu,
  chye:lu mẹssam khelu,
chya:.jạlo!

(You) four Mịga, do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!,
amidst (the constellation of) auspicious stars, of the auspicious sun,
  the moon, the favourable day, (and) while offering a sacrifice,
  offering food, if I, who belong to a spiritual descent line (of
  lámbus), who have an inherited ȁyo, fail in the rule of the recitation, the rule of the ritual (should be regarded as a compensation),
  if (I) fail in the rule of the ritual, the rule of the recitation
  (should be regarded as a compensation),
Hail!

NOTES:

- koloṅ < Tib. ko-loṅ, 'jealousy'.
- thuluṅ (OT) = ?.
- thȁlo (MT), 'do not make!'.
- lud (MT) < Tib. glud/blud, 'ransom-sacrifice'. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 360, 381 f.
- yạ: (OT) ? < Tib. rgyags/brgyags(-pa), 'food'.
- khelu < MT khèppa, 'to recite' + lụ:, 'rule', 'method', 'wording' (Tib. lugs), cf. also MT khed.lụ:, 'ritual language'.
- chye:lu < MT chye:ba (according to the informants), 'to decorate', 'to prepare a ritual', although chye:lu < Tib. ćhos-lugs, 'ritual', is not improbable, either.

- mẹssam < OT mẹppa, 'to fail', 'to disregard', ? < Tib. smad-pa, 'to abuse', 'to dishonour'. Meaning: a possible failure in applying the rules of the recitation may be compensated by the proper performance and preparation of the ritual act itself, and vice versa.

The lámbu now proceeds to the libation. While reciting the subsequent sections, he dips the sòli at short intervals into the beer in front of him, and each dipping stands for one portion. The sòli is a leaf rolled into the shape of a funnel or pipe.

18.

chyodo, chyodo, chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo, chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!,
chyaṅbu caṅma, chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo, chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo,
   chyaṅ bọdo!,
Sun Làmai syạlḍi chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam, chyaṅ chyodo!,
kyamara syí:(i) syạlḍi chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!,
chyaṅla ṅara ñạmba, salbi chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!,
chyaṅla bạṅjyu ñạmba, salbi chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!,
khaṅsa ñạmba, syịṅsa ñạmba, salbi chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!,
mịgai hòyhòy ló:ba, ló:bi chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!,
yạr ḍọle rạwa sẹṅbai chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!,
mạr ḍọle rạwa sẹṅbai chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!,
sai la Temba Cuṅne, chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!...

Following the same sentence pattern, the lámbu invokes the house-divinities and the client's clan god, s. section 10, and goes on:

... khe ne:bo, ṅa ni ḍọmbo,
le:dap sọṅbi dẹso nạṅri chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!

May it be offered, may it be offered, the beer, may it be poured out,
   the pure, may it be offered, the beer, may it be poured out, the
   pure, may it be offered!,
the pure juice of beer, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may
   it be offered, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be
   offered, the beer, may it be poured out!,
to Sun Làma, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, the beer, may it
   be offered!,

to the four orphans, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!;
(if) the juice of beer goes bad, for its remedy (as a compensation), the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!,
(if) the mash of the beer goes bad, for its remedy, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!,
(if) the homestead is damaged, the fields are damaged, for (their) restoration, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!,
(for) averting the conspicuousness through gossip, for averting it, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!,
for being protected when walking up, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!,
for being protected when walking down, too, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!;
(to) the God of the floor (earth), Temba Cuṅne, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!...
... you (are) the inhabitant, I (am only) a guest,
while asking for support, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!

NOTES:

- chyodo < MT chyoppa, 'to offer as a sacrifice', < Tib. mćhod-pa, cf. also text 4, 16. Notice the order of words conditioned by rhythm.
- bọdo < OT *bọba < Tib. 'bo-ba, 'to pour out'.
- chyaṅbu (OT) = chyaṅla ṅara, 'juice of beer', cf. above section 9.
- Sun Làma = ?
- ñạmba/ñẹmba (OT), 'to be damaged/sick/injured', ? < Tib. ñams-pa, 'injured', or ñen-pa, 'to be pained'.
- salb(a)i < salba, here 'to render intact', 'to restore', ? < Tib. bsal-ba, 'to cure/repair', or gsal-ba, 'to be free from deficiency'.
- khe (OT) < Tib. khyed, 'thou', 'you'.
- ne:bo, cf. ne:ba in section 12.
- ni is the Tib. isolating particle. Notice its alternate use with MT mi.

The next section is addressed to the syịbda:

19.

ṭhuṅbam gyạgar menḍu kùri ṭhuṅba,
keba(m) Kalliri pe:ma nạṅri keba,
dịṅba(m) Syàranjo nạṅri dịṅba, rèkki lumbu nạṅri dịṅba,
sa.bụrdo ne:ba, dóṅbo chyembo ne:ba,
dọ.cha:jo ne:bi yụlgi syịbda, Nè:da:mo, Tirda:mo, La Yápcyen, La Wàṅbo,
La Dẹbge, La Kundu Sạṅboi syạlḍi sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi,
yáp sergi dẹnle syụ:go, yáp ṅolgi dẹnle syụ:go!,
gyábna lị:jye [khurbai], ṅònna chya:jye teṅbai syịbda ñiṅbai syạlḍi
chyaṅ bọdo, caṅma chyodo!

As to origin, originated in India's nine wombs (?),
(as to) birth, born in the lotus of Kalliri,
(as to) soaring, soaring in Syàranjo, in (over) the whole world,
to the syịbda of the area, who dwells in the hillock, dwells in the great tree, dwells in the rocky place, (to) Nè:da:mo, Tirda:mo, La Yápcyen, La Wàṅbo, La Dẹbge, La Kundu Sạṅbo, (I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand;
throne for a moment on the golden throne, throne for a moment on the silver throne!,
to the dear syịbda, who, at the back, [*is carried*] *on (our) backs, who, at the front, is tossed with (our) hands, the beer, may it be poured out, the pure, may it be offered!*

NOTES:

- ṭhuṅbam... ne:bi, this is the "story of origin" (ṭhuṅrap, kerap) of the syịbda.
- gyạgar menḍu kùri (cf. gyạgar dẹn in section 1), menḍu (OT), 'womb' (?), as a euphemism, and related to the plant menḍu in section 4? Or is it a corrupt form of Tib. sman-sgrub, 'the mystical realization by means of medicinal herbs' (Tucci 1970: 140).
- pe:ma < Tib. pad-ma, 'lotus', euphemistically for 'village'.
- dịṅba (MT) < Tib. ldiṅ-ba, 'to soar' (like a bird), as an allusion to the omnipresence of the syịbda in the air, stones, trees, etc?
- Syàranjo = Sirāncok, cf. p. 13.
- Kalliri = Jhārkalleri, cf. p. 13.

- dọ.cha:jo (OT) is a place with rocks and stone boulders.
- Nè:da:mo... Kundu Sạṅbo were explained as the different names of the syịbda.
- Nè:da:mo, Tirda:mọ < ?.
- Yápcyen < ?.
- La Wàṅbo ? < Tib. lha('i) dbaṅ-po, an epitheton of Indra (Jäschke 1949: 387).
- La Dẹbge, Dẹbge ? < dẹbge, cf. above section 16.
- sergi mone..., the informants stressed that, although the section is devoted to the libation, the syịbda is to be offered rice in addition to the beer, "because it is a vegetarian divinity" (cf. also text 4, introduction).
- gyábna lị:jye khurba, ṅònna chya:jye teṅba is a metaphor of the bọmbo's imagery. gyábna (OT) < Tib. rgyab-na, 'behind'; ṅònna (OT) < Tib. sṅon-na, 'ahead'. OT lị: (Tib. lus), just as MT gọ (Tib. khog), mean both 'body' and the 'back of the body'. MT teṅba is 'to toss in the air', as one does affectionately with a small child. OT khurba (Tib.'khur-ba) connotes movement and means 'to carry forth', 'to take along'. — I presume that this metaphor depicts riding in a pick-a-back manner and referred originally to a state of possession. That is, the *"carrier"* is possessed by the *"rider"*. The human carries the god possessing him on his back and holds the latter's legs, resting on his hips, with his hands. The "tossing" with one's hands "at the front" is produced automatically when the "carrier" moves on fast with his "rider". The same type of carrying a possessing god on one's hips or shoulders is mimed in a ceremony observed by Gaborieau (1976: 230) among Hindus in Western Nepal. — SB did not agree with my interpretation. For him, the image implies both, namely "carrying the god on one's back" and, at the same time, "tossing up and catching the god with one's hands when it falls". If he is right, one may conclude that the metaphor denotes a specific conception of possession in which the possessing agent does not wholly supplant the identity of the one possessed. The latter is not only a passive "carrier", but also an active "tosser". — The MT expression for 'to possess' is gọri yùba, lit. 'to descend on to one's back', which reminds one of the Nepali idiom āṅgmā caṛhnu, lit. 'to climb/mount on to one's back'. — The MT verb teṅba < Tib. gdeṅ-ba, 'to brandish', 'to raise and move one's hand'; and it does not seem to be etymologically connected with Tib. ldeṅ-ba, 'to lose oneself in trance' (cf. Jäschke 1949: 267, and Kvaerne 1973: 183, respectively). I have not met with the Tib. expression lha 'bab-pa, 'the mystical entering of a deity into the human body' (Jäschke 1949: 599), in the Tamang texts. 12

This is followed by a repetition of sections 13-16 in which the clause "sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi" is replaced by "chyaṅ bọdo, caṅmam chyodo!" Once again, the lámbu recites the whole rịrap up to Uiseme with only slight, spontaneous variations in the order in which the places and divinities are mentioned. — The following sections (20-22) are addressed to the four orphans:

20.

hạ:y, chyodo, hạ:y, chyodo, chyaṅgu caṅma chyodo!,
ṭhuṅbam gyạgar dẹnḍi ṭhuṅba,
chya:bam Uiseme Yạla Sowa nạṅri chya:ba,
Mịga syí: koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo!,
jyịnda dạ:bo, dạ:moda chorna dọnjye pho:la, mạchorna gyábjye pho:la,
   ḍọwai khari pho:la, ñạlwai khari pho:la, sạwai khari pho:la,
mạṅ gókpa máṅbai te:ṅen ló:pino, jyạbu dịrbi te:ṅen ló:pino, khyugu
   ṅạrbi te:ṅen ló:pino!,
mịgai hòyhòy, mịgai dịrdir ló:pino!,
le:dap sọṅjyi, cyoldap sọṅjyi,
chyaṅgu caṅma chyodo!

hạ:y, may it be offered, hạ:y, may it be offered, may the pure juice of
   beer be offered!,
as to origin, orginated in India (?),
as to residence, resided in Uiseme Yạla Sowa,
(you) four Mịga, do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!;
the clients, the Master and Mistress (of the house) might be affected
   (by the evil) from ahead when aware, might be affected from behind
   when unaware, might be affected while walking, might be affected
   while sleeping, might be affected while eating;
avert the bad omen dreamt in a bad dream, avert the bad omen in the
   cock's crow, avert the bad omen in the dog's snarl!,
avert the conspicuousness through gossip, avert the disordered noises
   of gossip!;
(I) have asked for support, have placed (us) under (your) protection,
may the pure juice of beer be offered!

NOTES:

- chyaṅgu = chyaṅbu, cf. section 18.
- dọnjye < OT dọn < Tib. mdun, 'front-side'.
- dọnjye... gyábjye pho:la. Meaning: the evil may strike one from every direction and at any time, whether one is aware of it (= sees it approaching) or not. If one expects it, it strikes "from ahead", if not, it strikes "from behind". — It may be added that gyáb (MT), 'behind', 'rear', connotes "reversed", "bad", "death",

"unaware", "unconscious". Cf. gyábsol, 'wrong', 'reversed' (contrary to the proper order); gyábla:ba, 'to slaughter'; gyạbsaṅ, 'behind a person's back' (gossip, intrigue), versus ṅómsaṅ, 'in front oḟ', 'in the presence of', also 'wakefulness' (the contrary of sleep).

- mạchorna (OT), lit. 'not-think-when', < chorba, 'to think, 'to remember'.
- sạwai < OT sạba (MT caba) < Tib. za-ba, 'to eat'.
- ḍọwai < Tib. 'gro-ba'i, lit. 'go-of'.
- ñạlwai < OT ñạlba < Tib. ñal-ba, 'to sleep'.
- mạṅ (MT) < Tib. rmaṅ, 'dream'; máṅba (MT), 'to dream'.
- gókpa occurs only with mạṅ and was explained as an adjective meaning 'bad'. gókpa ? < Tib. 'gog-pa, 'total suppression (of all external impressions in meditation)', cf. Snellgrove 1967: 293.
- te:ṅen (MT) < Tib. ltas-ṅan, 'bad omen'.
- dịrbai < OT dịrba ? < Tib. ldir-ba, 'to roar'.
- khyugu/khyigu (OT) < Tib. khyi, 'dog', khyi-gu, 'puppy'.

After repeating section 2, the lámbu pours some millet beer into a ladle and recites:

21.

ù syọso:, ù syọso:, họy syọso:!, Mịgama Chyembo, Yágama Chyembo!,
họy, kebi kerap dárma salla, ṭhuṅbai ṭhuṅrap dárma salla,
koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo!,
dére Khàidai bó phaṅma.dịrim, jạru caṅmai khari, chyaṅbu caṅmai khari,
teṅge raṅle ṅọ ñí:, pukhri raṅle le ñí:,
pha:daṅ sụrjyim khabala...

ù syọso:, ù syọso:, họy syọso:!, Mịgama Chyembo, Yágama Chyembo!,
họy, (I) shall clear the story of birth sometime later, shall clear
the story of origin sometime later,
do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!;
now, while throwing Khàida's share in the pure ladle, in the pure juice
of beer,

(Khàida?) comes like the deer (having) two foreheads, like the snake
(having) two tongues,
(he) comes with the wild boar roaring...

NOTES:

- ù syọso: is an exhortation of a máṅ or syimo to accept a ransom-sacrifice or other offerings. syọso: < Tib. so!, so!, 'take, take!' (Waddel 1959: 416).
- Mịgama = ? Mịge Ama/Mịgai Ama, cf. section 1.
- Yágama = ?. Both Yágama and Mịgama are names according to the informants.
- kebi kerap, ṭhuṅb(a)i ṭhuṅrap = lit. 'birth-story of birth, origin-story of origin' (cf. section 1).
- salla < salba (cf. section 18), here 'to clear/retrace', as an operation necessary to render the ritual effective. What is implied here is no mere explanation, but a *retracing* of the story of origin, without which the offerings would not be accepted and the purpose of the ritual not fulfilled. Hence my translation *'to clear'* — with its double meaning in English. T. salba conveys many meanings (as does Tib. gsal-ba), namely 'to seek for', 'to open', 'to make distinct', 'to repair', 'to remedy', etc.
- phaṅma(i).dịri(m) < phaṅba, 'to cast away', to my knowledge used exclusively with reference to an offering to a máṅ or syimo to be exorcised, — in contradistinction to the verbs phulba and chyoppa, 'to offer/sacrifice', in addressing a la or lu. However, our text is an exception in that it uses both phaṅba and chyoppa in addressing the four orphans. This is suggestive of a split identity of the Nàkhle Máṅ. On the one hand, the four orphans are treated as beings of the la-category, and they are revered, incensed and participate in the libation (sections 1, 17-18, 20, 28); on the other, two of the orphans, namely Khàida and Khaijyuṅ, are approached as ghosts to be exorcised: they are fed separately and "thrown" shares (bó) and left-overs of the offerings (sections 21-22, 27, 29, 41-43). Cf. also the notes in sections 27, 33, 34.
- jạru (OT) < Tib. za-ru/gzar-bu, 'ladle'.
- teṅge..., the deer has two foreheads (ṅọ) because "its eyes lie edgeways on its temples, and because its eyes look sideways", as one informant stated.
- pukhri..., the two tongues of the snake refer to its split tongue.
- pha:daṅ < OT pha:, 'wild boar' (according to SB), < Tib. phag, 'swine', 'pig'; and pha-rgod, 'wild boar'.
- surjyim < OT sụrba ? < Tib. 'ur-ba, 'to roar'.

The lámbu now walks out of the house with the ladle in his hand.

22.

... laṅdaṅ gẹṅjyim khabala,
ló:syi bọro, khursyi bọro!,
koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo!,
khaṅsari bạ:bam, syụkke, syịṅsari bạ:bam, syụkke!,
nọrgi yaṅḍi bạ:bam, syụkke, khala sẹ:ri ba:bam, syụkke, sẹ:la cyuṭṭi
   bạ:bam, syụkke!,
phèle khabi Mịga ló:syi bọro, khursyi bọro!

... (he) comes with the bull snorting with rage,
may (he) be averted and carried away, be taken and carried away!,
do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!;
(he) affects the homestead — let us remove (him) by a sacrifice, (he)
   affects the fields — let us remove (him) by a sacrifice!,
(he) affects the riches' blessing — let us remove (him) by a sacrifice,
   (he) affects the mouth's food — let us remove (him) by a sacrifice,
   (he) affects the food's blessing — let us remove (him) by a sacrifice!,
the Mịga who comes swift-footedly, may (he) be averted and carried away,
   be taken and carried away!

NOTES:

- laṅdaṅ < OT laṅ < Tib. glaṅ, 'bullock'. — This imagery suggests that Khàida may haunt the humans in any shape; he sees everything like the deer with its eyes looking sideways; he approaches silently like the snake; or attacks openly like the wild boar or the bull.
- ló:syi...khursyi, OT -syi = "conjunctive participle" suffix.
- bạ:bam < MT bạ:ba, 'to cling', 'to affect', 'to befall', ? < Tib. 'bag-pa, 'to defile'.
- syụkke < MT syụppa, 'to bring near', 'to move along','to cause to move along', as in the act of holding above, or moving around, the patient's head a chicken meant for a ransom-sacrifice to a superhuman trouble-maker. This is nàga syụppa, lit. 'to bring near the chicken', hence T. syụppa ? < Tib. źud-pa, 'to twist', 'to rub', 'to hang'. By extension, and according to the context, syụppa can also be render- ed by 'to allure by a sacrifice', 'to ban into an effigy/ransom-sacrifice', but

also by 'to promise a sacrifice by reserving an animal or an egg' to a la or máṅ. The latter act is syụtthemba (< syụppa + themba, 'to put'), which the informants usually translate by N. uṭhāirākhnu or panchāirākhnu.

- phèle = MT phèlele, 'moving swiftly and light-footedly (without load)'.

The lámbu now arrives at the corner of the courtyard where the refuse is deposited and throws away the contents of the ladle. This corner is called cyi:bu mràṅ, lit. 'impurity garden'. — Back in the house, the lámbu repeatedly throws rice (sergi mone) on to the hen in the basket and recites the "story of origin" of the hen-sacrifice:

23.

hạ:y, pho:jyi!,
hạ:y, jyạbu ùrma thà:bi dẹso nạṅri,
dạṅbo-dạṅbo akhe-dụgu, mème-dụgu, Cò:den, Blẹnden, Gyạbajye thàma.dịri
   lại taṅgamda thà:mam tirla àkuinem, carla àkuinem, lụṅgi kàlaṅmoda
   thà:mam tirla àkuinem, carla àkuinem,
phu:sari krè:ba, gụ:sari phùmba, sergi nạṅ ṭhuṅba, ṅolgi nạṅ ṭhuṅbai
   jyạbu ùrmojye the:nem.

hạ:y, (I) have thrown (rice on the hen)!,
hạ:y, while killing the hen, (let us remember that)
in primordial times, when killing (sacrificing), the forefathers, the
   ancestors (of) the Cò:den, Blẹnden, Gyạba clans, while killing the
   taṅgam (bird) of the uplands, did not (succeed in) making it give
   a sign that its sacrifice was accepted (?), did not (succeed in)
   making it give a sign that its sacrifice was accepted (?), (and)
   while killing the kàlaṅmo (bird) of the lowlands, (they) did not
   (succeed in) making it give a sign that its sacrifice was accepted (?),
   did not (succeed in) making it give a sign that its sacrifice was
   accepted (?);
the hen which crows near the fire-place, lays eggs on the floor of
   the corner, originates in the gold, originates in the silver, heard
   (this and shook its body).

NOTES:

- pho:jyi < MT pho:ba, here 'to throw', 'to strew' rice on to the sacrificial animal. The act of pho:ba seems to serve two purposes: (a) The rice grains are to cause the animal to shake its body — which is a sign of its being accepted as a sacrifice. (b) At the same time, the grains transfer the sacrificer's will-power or bid on to the animal which is conjured to produce unequivocal results for the divination, cf. sections 24-26 and item no. 10 in the introduction to this text. Hence, pho:ba might be etymologically identical with pho:ba in section 6.
- ùrma = ùrmo, cf. section 7.
- akhe...dụgu (idiom) < MT akhe, 'greatgrandfather', + mème, 'grandfather'; OT dụgu was explained as a sort of echo-word, ? < Tib. sdug-gu, 'dear', 'pretty'.
- Cò:den... etc. The clan names are mentioned metonymically for 'all Tamang clans', I was told.
- thà:ma(i).dịri < MT thà:ba, 'to cut', 'to kill'.
- taṅgam is the name of a small bird which could not be identified.
- kàlaṅmo is another small bird = N. kalcaũro.
- tirla... àkuinem. My tentative translation was suggested by the informants. tirla < OT tirba ? < Tib. ldir-ba/ltir-ba, 'to be inflated', here with reference to the ruffled feathers of the hen when it shakes its body? carla < OT carba = ?. àkuinem = past negative of the OT verb kuiba which seems to have an emphatic function for the main verb preceding it, for example seṅ(na/la) kuiba, 'to make surely/for good/ at last'. — The story implies that wild animals are not suitable for sacrifice.
- gụ:sari (OT) < MT gụ:, 'corner', + sa, 'earth', 'floor'.

24.

hạ:y, saṅbai lada thà:mai.dịri,
jyịnda dạ:bo, dạ:moda gạyaṅ gạla, che:yaṅ che:la bịsam,
ṅàpaṭṭi ṅorap còṅ lajyim, èpaṭṭi ṅorap thèp lajyim, syabut rup.jórjyim,
mẹndo tèrkhyapjyim, khimjye àtha:nale, kame àphyalnale kaṅdaṅ
lạ:idaṅ pho:jyi!,
saṅbai lada thà:jyi!

hạ:y, while killing for the god(s) to whom incense is burnt, —
in case the clients, the Master and Mistress (of the house), shall be

happy, shall be well,
on my side, the will-power straightens, and on your side, the will-power buckles, and the share of meat lies close together (?), and the "flower" (on the heart) is inserted (between the two liver-halves), (and the liver is) so that the intralobar fissure is not elongated too much, so that the gall-bladder does not protrude, either;
(in order to effect that it be so, I) have thrown (rice) on both the legs and the hands (wings of the hen)(?)!,
(I) have killed it for the god(s) to whom incense is burnt!

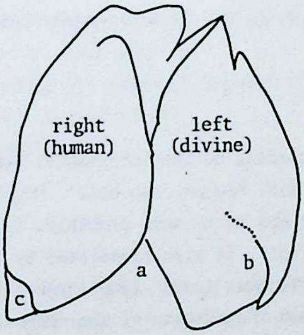
NOTES:

- saṅbai lada < saṅbai la, 'the god(s) who is (are) incensed', that is all gods enumerated in the "incense-recitation" (saṅrap), from among whom one is expected to accept the hen. The latter will be called ñembai la, the 'accepting god', cf. below.
- gạyaṅ gạla = future of OT gạyaṅ gạba < Tib. dga yaṅ dga-ba, 'very good', 'very agreeable'.
- che:yaṅ che:la = fut. of OT che:yaṅ che:ba < Tib. mjes yaṅ mjes-pa, 'very beautiful'.
- bịsam (MT), lit. 'say-if'; bị marks indirect speech, < bịba, 'to say'.
- ṅàpaṭṭi (MT) < ṅa, 'I', + N. paṭṭi, 'on the side of'.
- èpaṭṭi (MT) < è, 'you', + N. paṭṭi.
- ṅorap ? < Tib. ṅo, 'self', + rab, 'superior', 'very able'; in MT, ṅorap means 'will-power', 'strong personality'.
- còṅ laba (MT), lit. 'to erect'; and thèp laba, lit. 'to let hang down', 'to slacken'. The verbs 'to straighten' and 'to buckle' have been chosen to render the double reference to the lobes of the liver, on the one hand, and the will-power, on the other. That is, it is a good omen if the right lobe of the liver is larger than the left one, the right lobe being associated with man's side ("my side") and the left one with the god's side ("your side").
- syabut rup.jórjyim could not be explained satisfactorily by the informants. syabut is a sacrificial share of meat (cf. section 35), but here it probably denotes the three organs, namely liver, heart and gall-bladder, as a whole. MT rup.jórba means 'to pull together', as one does with the opening of a purse by pulling on its strings, here referring to the position of the three organs?
- mẹndo tèrkhyapjyim < MT mẹndo (Tib. me-tog), lit. 'flower', + OT térkhyappa, 'to fix by inserting', 'to stick into/on to' (of flowers, decorations, etc.). The

"flower" is the white spot of connective tissue on the outer surface of the heart. Its absence is a bad omen and means that one will be tormented by a witch. It is "inserted" probably because the heart appears between the two lobes of the liver when the hen is laid on its back and cut open. However, tèrkhyappa may also be rendered by 'fixed' as a completion of the metaphor "flower".

- àtha:nale (MT), lit. 'not-cut-in-manner', here 'in such a way that the two fissures are not elongated too much'.

- khimjye (MT) is the (imaginary) line connecting the *incisura caudalis* with the *incisura intralobaris* on the *facies parietalis* of the liver. The khimjye is "cut" if the *incisura intralobaris* is elongated as shown in the figure below. — khimjye = ? MT khimjye, 'neighbour' (Tib. khyim-mches).



a = incisura caudalis
b = incisura intralobaris
c = gall-bladder

- àphyalnale, lit. 'not-protrude-in-manner', < MT phyalba, 'to protrude', here with reference to the position of the gall-bladder.
- kaṅdaṅ la̤:idaṅ ? < Tib. rkaṅ, 'leg', 'foot' (MT kaṅ), + la̤:i ? < OT la̤:/la̤kpa < Tib. lag-pa, 'hand', here 'wing'. The use of -daṅ is reminiscent of Tib. daṅ in enumerations.
- "I have killed...", in reality, the hen will be killed later.

The whole section 24 is repeated once more. The next section addresses the ñembai la, that is, that divinity which will accept the hen:

25.

pho:jyi!, ñembai lada thà:jyi!,
tha:mai dẹso nạṅri,
jyịnda dạ:bo, dạ:moda gạyaṅ mạga, che:yaṅ mạche: bịsam,
ṅàpaṭṭi ṅorap thèp lajyim, èpaṭṭi còṅ lajyim pho:jyi!

(I) have thrown (rice on the hen)!, (I) have killed it for the god who accepts (the sacrifice)!,
while killing —
in case the clients, the Master and Mistress (of the house) shall not be happy, shall not be well,
on my side, the will-power buckles, and on your side, the will-power straightens,
(in order to effect that it be so, I) have thrown (rice on the hen)!

NOTES:

- ñembai la, 'accepting god'. According to the informants, ñemba < MT ñemba, 'to hear', 'to accept (a view)', < Tib. ñan-pa, 'to hear'. However, an etymological connection with Tib. bsñen-pa seems to me more probable. Tib. bsñen-pa, 'to come near', 'to propitiate', 'to accept', is also translated by 'getting near a divinity by continual recital of his particular spell' (Snellgrove 1967: 297). — Why the ñembai la is asked to effect that the results of the hepatoscopy turn out negative in case the clients concerned are to face some misfortune in future, was explained as a challenge: "If you are really the god who accepts the sacrifice, you you should produce results that are objectively true, even if they are negative for us. The saṅbai la(s) may also influence the divination, but a counter-check is only possible with you".

26.

The lámbu again addresses the saṅbai las and repeats section 24. Sections 24 and 25 have to be repeated until the hen shakes its body. Then, immediately before it is slaughtered, the lámbu recites:

27.

hạ:y, mraṅbala àmraṅ, yaṅbala àyaṅ,
gọn tà:jyim khabala, gyạ: tà:jyim khabala,
mràb.gụ:ri gyábjyim khabala, ḍéṅgu:ri gyábjyim khabala,
hà:jyim khabala, hụ:jyim khabala,
nabraṅ piṅ jụjyim khabala
cañu, thùṅñu!,
họ:y, syọtt!

hạ:y, (you pretending) not to have seen what is visible, not to have obtained what has been obtained,
(you who) come holding out (your) coat, holding out (your) wrap,
come sneaking round the corner near the door, come sneaking round the corner of the side-wall (of the cattleshed),
come panting, come gasping,
come assuming the shape of a green fly,
go and eat, go and drink!,
họ:y, syọtt!

NOTES:

- mraṅbala àmraṅ, yaṅbala àyaṅ, lit. 'seen not-see, obtained not-obtain'. This section seems to be addressed to the four orphans described as always hungry, never satisfied, and lurking everywhere. Cf. also section 42.
- gọn (OT) < Tib. gon-pa, 'coat', which is now not worn in the fieldwork area.
- gyạ: is a wrap consisting of a single piece of unsewn coarse cotton which is wrapped around the trunk down to the thighs; its corners are knotted together over the shoulders.
- ḍéṅgu:ri < MT ḍéṅ = the side-wall, made of leafy branches, of a temporary cattle-shed set up in the forest or on the fields after harvest, + MT gụ:, 'corner'.
- mràb.gụ:ri, lit. 'in the door-corner'. The mentioning of the house and the cattle-shed emphasizes that the orphans haunt the places inhabited by humans. Having no fixed abodes in the natural environment, they are just like expelled children who try to come back to their father's house, like beggars whom you cannot persuade to leave without giving them alms, as one informant put it.
- cañu, thùṅñu!, lit. 'go to eat, go to drink!'.

- syọtt! is an exclamation implying that the act of giving is terminated. Just as cañu and thuṅñu, syọtt is only used in addressing a mâṅ or syimo or another being which is *not* of the category of the las and lus. — Although the hen is sacrificed to the gods (saṅbai la, ñembai la), the orphans have to be offered their own shares. The regularity with which the orphans receive their shares (cf. above) distinguishes them from most of the other mâṅs and syimos. Evidently, the four orphans stand proxy for all the "drop-outs" of Tamang society. To placate them is to make good the negligence shown towards all those who have come off badly. The conspicuously lamenting intonation of the lâmbu when addressing the four orphans is suggestive of a sentiment of pity which is not lavished on other maṅs.

The hen is now slaughtered by cutting its throat with a knife. The liver is examined and then roasted along with the legs. Into each of the four leaf-cups on the bamboo-tray (cf. introduction) are placed: some feathers, a chip each of the liver, the skin from the legs, the lungs and the colon, as well as a few drops of the blood. These offerings, along with those arranged previously on the tray, are the orphans' share and will be thrown while reciting sections 28 and 29.

The rest of the liver and the fried egg on the tray are divided into as many portions as there are participants present and distributed among them. They are consumed on the spot in a sort of communion and are called pàrsa:d < N. prasād. The prasād, among Hindus, is regarded as that part of an offering which has been "impregnated" with the boon of the divinity accepting it and which the humans therefore share with him.

The lâmbu now repeats section 1 and continues as follows:

28.

ṭhukpa mạkedo, sụrdo-koloṅ mạkedo!
yarsaṅ gạwai cè:buṭṭi kebi kerap salñi, ṭhuṅbai ṭhuṅrap salñi!...

Do not be irritated, do not be jealous!,
at the end of the pleasant summer, let us go to clear the story of
birth, let us go to clear the story of origin!...

NOTES:

- ṭhukpa (OT) < Tib. 'khrug-pa, 'to be disturbed', 'disorder', 'tumult'.
- mạkedo (OT) < keppa ? < Tib. skyed-pa, 'to produce', 'to cause'. If this etymology is correct, the original meaning of the clause was "do not impose (on us) irritation, do not impose jealousy!".
- sụrdo-koloṅ ? < Tib. zur-du ko-loṅ, 'jealousy through insinuation'.
- yarsaṅ gạwai (OT) < Tib. dbyar, 'summer', + ? bzaṅ, 'good', + dga-ba'i (here in a "Tibetanized" pronunciation) < dga-ba, 'good', 'pleasant'. The ceremony was performed in February, and instead of yarsaṅ, gọnsaṅ, 'winter' (Tib. dgun) would have been correct, as it seems.
- cè:buṭṭi (OT) < *cè:but < MT ce:ba, 'to expire' (? < Tib. 'jad-pa, 'to end'), + MT bụppa (but-pa), 'to end', according to SB.

The lámbu walks out slowly to the courtyard, holding the bamboo-tray in his hands and reciting:

29.

... ù syọso:, ù syọso:!, Mịgama Chyembo, Yágama Chyembo!,
hạ:y, kebi kerap salñi, ṭhuṅbai ṭhuṅrap salñi!,
Mịga syí:, koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo!

ù syọso:, ù syọso:, Mịgama Chyembo, Yágama Chyembo!,
hạ:y, let us go to clear the story of birth, let us go to clear the
story of origin!,
(you) four Mịga, do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!

The subsequent sections 30-38 relate the story of the four orphans. In order to elucidate what is mentioned here rather fragmentarily I first quote two variants of the same story:

Variant no. 1: The four orphans (or their ghosts?) joined Urgyen Pe:ma (Padmasambhava) in India and accompanied him to Tibet. There, Urgyen Pe:ma started constructing the monastery of Uiseme, but to his surprise, whatever had been built during the daytime got mysteriously destroyed at night. Neither Urgyen Pe:ma nor an Indian

Brahmin, whom he consulted, could find out the cause of the trouble. Finally, four old men detected that the four orphans had been destroying the building. Urgyen Pe:ma sacrificed a yak to the orphans and sent them to Nepal.

Variant no. 2: The four orphans haunted the palace of Gyạnai Gyálbo (< Tib. rgya-nag, 'China', + rgyal-po, 'king') in Uiseme. Four wise old men from India advised Gyạnai Gyálbo and Urgyen Pe:ma to placate the orphans by a yak sacrifice. This being done, the orphans went to the South to haunt the Ghale in Nepal. After the Ghale had placated them by a sheep sacrifice, the orphans went to Yambu = Kāṭhmāṇḍu to haunt the Newar. After the Newar had placated them by a chicken sacrifice, they went to haunt the Tamang.

In the Tibetan literature on Padmasambhava's life we find a number of elements reminiscent of these Tamang stories. Suffice it to quote the Lha-'dre bka'-thaṅ (Blondeau 1971) with the following themes: (a) the hostile klus attacking at midnight the temple of bSam-yas under construction; (b) the natural catastrophes caused by the demons prompt the king to send for Indian pandits and/or to consult scholars and soothsayers; and (c) the motives of war and commerce (cf. below). It seems that these older elements of Tibetan origin have been amalgamated into, and actualised by, the Tamang story of the four orphans with its various facets.

30.

gyálboi làgaṅ dịnjyem rì:nem, mụnjyem rúmnem,
choṅ prùṅsyim cya: jyụṅnem, ma: prùṅsyim ḍẹ: jyụṅnem,
ḍẹ: jyụṅbai dẹso nạṅri mi Gúru Rẹmborchye ci dạrnem,
cimai.dịri ci àthoṅnem, mọmaidiri mọne àthoṅnem.

The king's palace was erected in daytime and got destroyed at night;
when embarking on business the result was iron, when releasing an
arrow (?) ill-luck arose,
as the ill-luck arose, Gúru Rẹmborchye made a calculation,
(but) while calculating, did not see (any result of) the calculation,
while divining, did not see (any result of) the divination, either.

NOTES:

- gyálboi làgaṅ < Tib. rgyal-po'i lha-khaṅ, 'the temple of the king'. The informants preferred 'palace' in this context.

- choṅ prùṅsyim < choṅ prùṅba, lit.'to release/strike a business' (idiom).
- cya: (OT) < Tib. lćags, 'iron'. Meaning: the enterprise failed; its result was iron, instead of gold.
- ma:, the informants' rendering of the OT ma: by 'arrow' is doubtful; possibly ma: < Tib. dmag, 'army', hence ma: prùṅsyim = 'sending an army' or 'waging war'? On ma: s. also text 4, introduction and text 5,7.
- ḍẹ: (MT) means 'quarrel' (within one's own group or family, as SB added) and must be etymologically identical with the OT word rendered by 'ill-luck'; ḍẹ: ? < Tib. dregs(-pa), 'pride', 'arrogance'.
- Gúru Rẹmborchye < Tib. Gu-ru Rin-po-ćhe = Padmasambhava.
- ci dạrnem < OT ci dạrba < Tib. rcis, 'counting', 'calculation', 'astrology' (skar-rcis), + bdar-ba/rdar-ba, 'to examine closely', 'to pray earnestly in casting lots and divination' (Das 1970: 666).
- cimai.dịri < OT *ciba < Tib. rci-ba, 'to calculate'.
- mọmaidiri < OT *mọba < Tib. mo, 'lot', as in mo 'debs-pa, 'to cast the lot'. — As it is not known which particular technique is meant by *ciba, I have preferred to base my translation on the etymology. By contrast, *mọba has been rendered by 'to divinate' because the informants identified it with MT mụdu cya:ba = the most frequent divination technique of the bọmbo, which consists of examining the smell of some rice grains presented by the client.
- mọne < Tib. mo, 'lot', + MT -ne/-e, 'also'.
- àthoṅnem < OT thoṅba < Tib. mthoṅ-ba, 'to see', 'to perceive'.

31.

àthoṅbai dẹso naṅri mi gyạgar dẹnḍi gyạgar pànḍi(t)da ci dạrla kuiñu,
   bịnem, gẹloṅ ñí:, bịnem,
bịbai dẹso naṅri mi chya:gi tenchya: tà: bọrba, bịnem,
már phulu nàṅ, ser phulu nàṅ bọro, bịnem,
bịbai dẹso naṅri, gyạgar pàndit mi gyámrino khadu tanem.

As (Gúru Rẹmborchye) did not see (any result), he said: "Go to India to
   let the Indian panḍit (Brahmin) make a calculation, (you) two monks!",
   he said;
as he said (this), "What should (we) take as a present?", (the monks) said;
"Take a phulu full of gold, take a phulu full of gold!", he said;

as (soon after) he said (this), (the monks) met the Indian paṇḍit on the road itself.

NOTES:

- gyạgar dẹn, 'India', cf. section 1.
- kuiñu (OT) < kuiba, cf. section 23, here with a factitive function, + imp. of MT ñiba, 'to go'.
- gẹloṅ < Tib. dge-sloṅ (s. Jäschke 1949: 86); I have followed the informants' interpretation in rendering it by 'monk'.
- chya:gi tenchya: (OT), lit. 'present of hand', < Tib. phyags-rten, 'present'.
- már (MT), 'gold'; ser (OT) < Tib. gser, 'gold'. Notice the pleonasm by juxtaposing the OT and MT words for 'gold'.
- phulu (OT) < Tib. phor-pa, a 'wooden bowl' (for tea, etc.), which is phuru in Sherpa and in the language of the Tamang inhabiting the valley of the Bhoṭe Kosi river (cf. Schmidt-Thomé and Thingo 1975: 202 ff; and Macdonald 1975: 164).
- gyámrino < MT gyám, 'path', 'road', + loc.suffix -ri + emphatic particle -no. The meaning seems to be that the monks accidentally met the Brahmin already en route to Tibet.

32.

khà(na) ñibi gẹloṅ ñí:, bịnem,
khồi, gyálboi làgaṅ dịnjyem rì:ba, mụnjyem rΰmba,
choṅ prǜṅsyim cya: jyụṅba, ma: prǜṅsyim ḍẹ: jyụṅba,
bịbi dẹso nạṅri mi Saṅgedae phulo, Gyụndendae phulo,
phatphot ṭhàmla:nem.

"Where are (you) two monks going to?", (the paṇḍit) said;
"Who knows why, the king's palace is erected in daytime (and) gets destroyed at night;
when embarking on business, the result is iron, when releasing an arrow (?), ill-luck arises", (the monks replied);
as they said (this, the paṇḍit told them:) "Give offerings to the Buddha and the Gyụnden, too!";
(the monks relate that when doing so previously, the offerings) got scattered in every direction.

NOTES:

- khȁ(na) ñibi gẹloṅ, lit. 'where going monk'.
- khȍi = an exclamation of wondering, MT.
- Saṅgedae < Saṅge < Tib. saṅs-rgyas, 'the Buddha'.
- Gyụndendae < Gyụnden < Tib. brgyud-ldan, 'those who are bearers of the tradition (of the Buddha)'; as R. Kaschewsky informs me, brgyud-ldan also occurs with reference to the Buddha himself.

33.

dụkkha thȁlo ó, gẹloṅ ñí:!,
gyạgar pànḍit mi ṅano cimai.dịri ci thoṅjyi, mọmaidiri mọ thoṅjyi,
   Mịga syí: Lènṭe bịnem,
ṅa dárma khala, bịnem,
gẹpue cho:go, gẹpu ñí:e cho:go, yạ:jyen nórbui chyoppae phulo,
phulbai dẹso nạṅri mi syai karbojye syae rèppinnem, chyaṅgi karbojye
   chyaṅeino rèppinnem, syalam rị:ba(g)ino ceppinnem, chyaṅlam
   bạṅjyugino ceppinnem,
yạ:!

"Do not worry at all, two monks!", the Indian paṇḍit (said) in his turn,
   "it is I who, while calculating, saw (got the result of) the calculation, while divining, saw (got the result of the) divination: the
   Mịga syí: Lènṭe (cause the trouble)", he said;
"I shall come some time later", he said (and added:)
"let an old man, too, convene (with the people of Uiseme?), let two old
   men, too, convene!, offer also a sacrifice of the precious yak!";
(and) when it was offered, the one responsible for the distribution of
   meat shared out the whole meat, (and) the one responsible for the
   distribution of beer shared out all the beer, too, (and) from the
   meat (he) saved but the bones, from the beer (he) saved but the
   mash,
yes, it is true!

NOTES:

- dụkkha < N. dukkha, 'grief', 'trouble'.
- Lèṇṭe = here another name of the four orphans?. léṇṭe < Tib. lha-'dre, lit. 'gods (and) demons', especially those whom Padmasambhava bound by an oath, but who did not attain salvation and cause all sorts of trouble (Blondeau 1971). My etymology is further supported by the fact that lèṇṭe is also pronounced làṇṭhe. The word also occurs in MT jyịmbu lèṇṭe, an expression for 'all harming superhuman beings'.
- gẹpue < OT gẹpu/gẹppu < Tib. rgad-po, 'old man'.
- yạ:jyen nórbu (OT) < Tib. gyag, 'yak', + ĉhen(-po), 'great', 'noble', 'of worth', + nórbu < Tib. nor-bu, 'jewel', 'excellent'.
- syai karbojye < MT syai karbo is called the person who is responsible for the distribution of meat at feasts, < Tib. *ŝa'i dkar-po, lit. 'white of the meat'.
- chyaṅgi karbojye < chyaṅgi karbo is called the person responsible for the distribution of beer (OT chyaṅ) at feasts.
- "shared out", "saved but": the meaning is not clear; a reference to the voraciousness of the orphans?
- bạṅjyu may also be rendered here by 'dregs', cf. section 9.
- rị:bagino, 'only the bone', < OT rị:ba < Tib. rus-pa, 'bone'.

34.

khe mẹ:me Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya,
ñi: Wọṅden-Wọṅsya, mẹ:me syí:da khàle lajyim bạrdaman,
bạrdaman laba, bạrdaman lala pàṅbai dẹso nạṅri mi Sa:ssai abajye phaṅla,
   Pã:sai abajye phaṅla, Yambui Bạijyee phaṅla, Gọrkhai Glé:jyee phaṅla,
bá:li jáṅmae phaṅla, bá:li dụdmae phaṅla,
már thaṅmarie phaṅla, mùi thaṅmarie phaṅla,
kola:ma bạrdorie phaṅla, phyạ: bạrdorie phaṅla,
màyi silmae phaṅla, mé silmae phaṅla,
syi.dọn, sòdonḍie phaṅla,
hòl(e) lama.dịri ñi: mẹ:meda bạrdaman tala syẹm, tala bịnem.

You, siblings Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya, (you wondered:)
"For us Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya, the four siblings, how is it to be performed, the bạrdaman?"
"(When somebody) performs the bạrdaman, when he says, 'The bạrdaman shall be performed.', (our share) will be thrown by the father in Sātsai,

will be thrown by the father in Pā̃csai, will be thrown by the Newar of the Nepal Valley, too, will be thrown by the Ghale of Gorkhā, too,
(our share) will also be thrown when sowing the crops, will also be thrown when gathering in the crops,
will also be thrown on the golden bamboo mat, will also be thrown on the silver bamboo mat,
will also be thrown at the time of a pollution by birth, will also be thrown at the time of a marriage ceremony,
will also be thrown when the water buffalo calves, will also be thrown when the cow calves,
will also be thrown at the feast for the dead, at the feast for the living,
in so doing, our, the siblings' bạrdaman will be performed, yes, it will," (the orphans) said.

NOTES:

- bạrdaman < N. bartaman/bratabandh, 'investiture with the holy cord', a ceremony which is performed for boys of the "twice-born" castes; here 'initiation' in a more general sense, or with reference to the chyèwar (cf. p. 30 f.).
- phaṅla = ft. of OT phaṅba < Tib. 'pheṅ-pa, 'to throw', 'to cast away'. Just as MT khla:ba, phaṅba can mean both the throwing of offerings to a máṅ or syimo to be exorcised and the act of exorcising itself.
- "father" = the father of the boy whose initiation is to be performed.
- Sa:ssai < N. Sātsai < Sātsai Kholā, the name of the region of the upper Ā̃khu Kholā valley.
- Pã:sai < N. Pā̃csai < Pā̃csai Kholā, the name of the region of the rivers Mailuṅg Kholā and Bhoṭe Kosi, two tributaries of the Trisuli river. Both Sātsai Kholā and Pā̃csai Kholā are inhabited by Tamang.
- Yambui Bạijyee < Yambu, 'Nepal Valley', 'Kāṭhmāṇḍu', < Tib. Yam-bu, 'Kāṭhmāṇḍu', + MT Bại, 'Newar', = OT Bạlbu < Tib. bal-po-pa.
- Glé:jyee < MT Glé: = Ghale, cf. p. 7 and Pignède 1966: 167 ff. The informants could not confirm whether the Newar and Ghale really perform the Nàkhle Máṅ Ceremony in our day.
- bá:li < N. bāli, 'crops'.
- thaṅmarie < MT thaṅma, a 'thin bamboo mat' used for drying grains before grinding or husking. The 'gold' and 'silver' (MT már and mùi) seem to have a euphemistic function. The mat refers to feasts for which large quantities of cereals are needed, and at which the orphans are to get their share.

- kola:ma (MT) is called the period (bạrdo) between a childbirth and the name-giving ceremony, during which the mother and her child are considered impure (cf.p. 30). The word kola:ma seems to be a contraction of kòla, 'child', and ama, 'mother'.
- bạrdorie < OT bạrdo, 'period', < Tib. bar-do, lit. 'between the two' (cf. also Das 1970: 867).
- phyạ:/bhyạ: < N. bihā/bibāhā, 'marriage'.
- syi.dọnḍie < OT syi.dọn/syìdon < Tib. gŝid-ston, 'funerary feast'.
- sòdonḍie < OT sòdon ? < Tib.*srog-ston, lit. 'life-feast'.

35.

Rọṅga yụlḍi bạbo,
Rọṅga yụlḍi bạpmai dẹso nạṅri mi Jóṅgai yụlḍi bạpnem,
Jóṅgai yụlḍi bạpmai dẹso nạṅri mi lúgu karboi syala syabut, ṭha:la
ṭha:butjye phaṅbai dẹso nạṅri mi koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo,
Bọ.kham yụlḍi bạpnem,
bạpmai dẹso nạṅri mi rạbu karboi syala syabut, ṭha:la ṭha:but phaṅmai
dẹso nạṅri mi koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo.

"Go down to Rọṅga country!" (the orphans were ordered?);
when they went down to Rọṅga country, they came down (first) to Jóṅga country;
when they came down to Jóṅga country, when a share of meat from the meat, a share of blood from the blood, of the white sheep were thrown, (the people implored the orphans:) "Do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!";
(the orphans then) came down to Bọ.kham country,
when they came down (there), when a share of meat from the meat, a share of blood from the blood, of the white goat were thrown, (the people implored the orphans:) "Do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!".

NOTES:

- Rọṅga yụl = Nepal, according to the informants, < Tib. roṅ-yul, the name of the Himalayan area comprising Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, etc. (Das 1970: 1194).
- bạbo < OT bạppa < Tib. 'bab-pa, 'to descend'.

- Jóṅga is apparently identical with the *Jongkha/Dzongkha Dzong* of the maps, a town to the North of Kyirong in South Tibet.
- lúgu karbo (OT) < Tib. lug-gu, 'lamb', lug, 'sheep', + dkar-po, 'white'.
- syabut (OT) < Tib. śa, 'meat', 'flesh', + phud, 'a thing set apart', 'offering'.
- ṭha:but (OT) < Tib. khrag, 'blood', + phud as above. The instrum./ergative ṭha:but-jye is probably a flaw.
- Bọ.kham < Tib. bod-khams, 'Tibet'; SB was of the opinion that it must refer, in this context, to the area of Kyirong.
- ṛabu (OT) < Tib. ra-pho, 'he-goat'.

36.

Serduṅ yụlḍi bạpnem,
Serduṅ yụlḍi bạpmai dẹso naṅri mi Mạmbadeṅ Ḍịmduṅgi lai cyiwa labaro,
lai cyiwa sergi dụṅma yórbaro,
Mịga syí: Lènṭe bịnem,
ñi: làma lạyo laba àda,
gọṅa karboi khari dẹndarjyi, cya:gı bịjai khari dẹndarjyi, thùbaro
   caṅmari dẹndarjyi, sergi monejye dẹndarjyi.

They came down to Serduṅ country;
when they came down to Serduṅ country, the Mạmba and Ḍịmduṅ (clans)
   performed a cyiwa (= ?) ritual, it is said,
(during) the cyiwa ritual, the golden pole leaned towards the earth,
   it is said,
"The Mịga syí: Lènṭe (caused this accident", the people) said;
"We lamas must not commit a sin "(by sacrificing an animal and, therefore,
the orphans) were approached by means of the white egg, were approached
   by means of the iron hookah-poker, were approached by means of the
   pure censer, were approached by means of the golden rice.

NOTES:

- Serduṅ is a village in the upper Ā̄khu Kholā valley.
- lai cyiwa < lai, 'of god', 'divine', 'religious', + OT cyiwa, the name of a ritual according to the lámbu (?).

- dụṅma (OT) < Tib. gduṅ-ma, 'beam'. The meaning in this context is not clear. The pole, here, may refer to a flag-pole which some Tamang households still erect in their courtyards as a protective measure. The flag is a piece of white cotton and bears a blockprint with various mantras in Tibetan. — In the bọmbo's language, dụṅma may also mean (a) the 'mystical backbone/life-tree' of a person and (b) the 'spiritual descent line of a primordial bọmbo' (dụṅma with the latter meaning ? < Tib. gduṅ, 'descent', 'descent group'). Cf. p. 20 and pa:sam in text 2,1.
- lạyo (MT) < Tib. la-yogs, 'retribution'. In Tamang, lạyo is the 'sin of killing a sentient being'.
- gọṅa (OT) < Tib. sgo-ṅa, 'egg'. One may add that for Hindus, the egg is not a vegetarian offering which could replace, as is meant here, a blood sacrifice.
- dẹndarba = dẹmba dạrba, cf. section 1.
- cya:gi bịja (OT) < Tib. lčags-kyi, 'of iron', + ? (Western Tib.) bu-ca/bu-cha, 'son' (Jäschke 1949: 368), hence 'the iron's son' as a euphemism for 'iron poker'? Here it refers to the custom of holding a poker or other iron object in one's hand while reserving an egg for the four orphans, to be offered at the next ceremony. In other contexts, cya:gi bịja was rendered by 'gun', 'matchlock', cf. text 2,3.
- thùbaro < N. dhupāro, 'censer'.

37.

Rọṅga yụldịi bạpjyi,
bạpmai dẹso nạṅri mi, lud phulba, yạ: phulbai dẹso nạṅri mi jyạbu
   ùrmai syala syabut, ṭha:la ṭha:but, luwa-bụwa, gyụma-gyụser phaṅjyi,
Mịga syí:, koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo!,
kebi kerap saljyi, ṭhuṅbai ṭhuṅrap saljyi.

(The orphans) came down to Rọṅga country;
when they came down (there), when (they) were offered a sacrifice,
   were offered food, a share of meat from the meat, a share of
   blood from the blood, the downy feathers, the gyụma-gyụser of the
   hen were thrown;
(the people of Rọṅga implored the orphans:) "Do not be jealous, do
   not (thuluṅ = ?)!";
(I) have cleared the story of birth, have cleared the story of origin.

NOTES:

- luwa-bụwa (OT or at least not used in coll. Tamang), 'downy feathers/hairs' of an animal, also 'trichoma' of plants. -bụwa ? < Tib. spu, 'feather', 'hair'; or luwa-bụwa ? < N. ruwā-buwā, 'raw cotton', N. bhuwā, 'down of a young animal'. Cf. text 5,2.
- gyụma-gyụser (OT) < Tib. rgyu-ma, 'entrails'. The composition of the sacrificial share called gyụma-gyụser varies according to the occasion, and it normally includes more than the internal organs only. In the case of a fowl, it contains the beak, larynx, crop, lungs, some blood, the tip of the wings and the feet. In the case of a mammal, it contains the eyes, nose, claws and sometimes also the tips of the ears. The difference to the share called syabut lies in the fact that the parts included in the gyụma-gyụser are inedible (cf. section 24 above).

38.

sya sạna Bọ.khamjye phaṅla,
chyaṅ sạna Bálgujye phaṅla,
koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo!,
khaṅsari bạ:bam syụkke, syịṅsari bạ:bam syụkke, brị:gi hoṅḍi bạ:bam
  syụkke, nọrgi yaṅḍi bạ:bam syụkke!

When eating meat, the (people of) Bọ.kham throw (a share),
when drinking beer, the Newar throw (the dregs to you),
do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!,
(you) affect the homestead — let us remove (you) by a sacrifice,
  affect the fields — let us remove (you) by a sacrifice, affect
  the crops blessing — let us remove (you) by a sacrifice, affect
  the riches' blessing — let us remove (you) by a sacrifice!

NOTES:

- sạna (OT sạba) < Tib. za-na, 'if eating'.
- Bálgujye < OT Bálgu = OT Bạlbu = Newar. What is implied here is that Tibetans have more meat, and the Newar more cereals, due to the climate in their respective habitats.
- khaṅsari bạ:bam... cf. section 22.

39.

kebi kerap saljyi, ṭhuṅbai ṭhuṅrap saljyi,
maṇ̇ ni gókpa maṇ̇bai te:ṅen ló:pino!
jyạbu dịrbi te:ṅen ló:pino!,
rạbu khirbi te:ṅen ló:pino!,
khyugu ṅạrbi te:ṅen ló:pino!,
koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo!

(I) have cleared the story of birth, have cleared the story of origin;
avert the bad omen dreamt in a bad dream!,
avert the bad omen in the cock's crow!,
avert the bad omen in the goat's sneeze!,
avert the bad omen in the dog's snarl!,
do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!

40.

sala sabsyi amai ṭhamḍie mạpho:go!,
nàmla nàmsyi amai ṭhamḍie mạpho:go!,
dóṅbo chyembo, dọ chyembo [ne:bi] yụlgi syịbda, pagu-pamo, bịja-bọmo,
syera-syermo, semjen rịwagi ṭhamḍie mạpho:go!,
mạñe:(ba)cenda mạñe: gọṅdo syụ:ba, ñẹ:bi ḍạwucenda ló:syi bọro,
khursyi bọro!,
halgi bómdaṅ, sùkra gyá:, mèwa gyá:, mị:i ñẹndap, mị:i kuldap ló:syi
bọro!,
ù, họ:y, syọtt, ù syọso:!

May the blame not fall upon the mother-earth!,
nor may the blame fall upon the mother-sky!,
nor may the blame fall upon the syịbda of the area [who dwells in] the
great tree, the large stone, (upon) the men and women, the sons
and daughters, the youth, the cattle!,
(while) the harmless one thrones quiet, may the harming enemy be
averted and carried away, be taken and carried away!,
may the halgi bómdaṅ, the inauspicious constellation of the sùkra, the

inauspicious constellation of the mèwa, the harming charms of ḩumans, the magic arrow of humans be averted and carried away!,

ù, hǫ:y, syǫtt, ù syǫso:!

NOTES:

- sala sabsyi ama was explained as a euphemism for 'earth'; < MT sa, 'earth', ama, 'mother', sabsyi ? < Tib. *sa-bźi, 'the four continents'?
- nàmla nàmsyi ama was explained as a euphemism for 'sky'; < MT nàm, 'sky', 'rain', < Tib. gnam, 'heaven', 'sky'.
- ṭhamḍie < MT ṭham, 'responsibility', ? < Tib. khra-ma, 'index', 'register'.
- mapho:go = OT neg. imp./hortative of pho:ba, cf. above section 6. MT ṭhamḍi pho:ba, lit. 'to effect in the responsibility'. Meaning: "May the blame for anything (= failure, ill-luck, etc.) not fall upon the innocent!".
- pagu-pamo/pahu-pamo (OT) ? < Tib. dpa'-bo, 'hero', 'brave', + dpa'-mo, 'heroine', as a euphemism?
- bịja-bọmo (OT) < Tib. bu-ca/bu-cha, 'son', + bu-mo, 'daughter'.
- syera-syermo/syara-syarmo (OT) < Tib. śar-pa, 'young men', + śar-ma, 'grown-up girls'.
- semjen rịwa (OT) < Tib. sems-ćan, 'sentient', 'animated being', + ? < Tib. ri-dwags, 'animal of chase'.
- halgi bómdaṅ (OT) ? < Tib. *hal-kyi 'bum daṅ, 'together with the 100,000 hal-kyi', < Tib. hal-kyi nag-po = the name of a sa-bdag (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 264). Or hal- ? < Skt. halam, 'particular constellation', 'hindrance' (Monier-Williams 1970: 1293). In SB's view, the expression must be the name of a constellation.
- sùkra ? < Skt. Śukra, 'the planet Venus'.
- mèwa (OT) < Tib. sme-ba = the astrological diagram used along with the spar-kha (cf. Waddel 1959: 450 ff.).
- gyá: < N. graha, 'planet', in popular thought also 'inauspicious constellation'. This derivation by SB is doubtful because N. graha, as a loan-word, is pronounced grạ: in MT.

In the meantime, the lámbu has reached the place called 'leftover garden' the second time. Her turns the bamboo-tray over and lets the four leaf-cups fall to the ground. He then returns to the house and puts a piece of glowing charcoal, some roasted flour, beer and water into a ladle; this is Khaijyuṅ's share. While carrying the ladle out of the house he recites:

41.

ù, ho̤:y, syo̤so:, ù ho̤:y, syo̤so:!, Mi̤gama Chyembo, Yágama Chyembo!,
ha̤:y, kebi kerap dárgeno saljyi, ṭhuṅbai ṭhuṅrap dárgeno saljyi,
Khaijyuṅgi bo̤ phaṅbai de̤so na̤ṅri mi ja̤ru caṅmai khari chyaṅbu caṅma,
mebu caṅma, chyugu caṅma, camba caṅma,
koloṅ thàlo, thuluṅ thàlo!

ù, ho̤:y, syo̤so:, ù ho̤:y, syo̤so:!, Mi̤gama Chyembo, Yágama Chyembo!,
ha̤:y, (I) have cleared the story of birth just now, have cleared the story of origin just now;
(now) while throwing Khaijyuṅ's share, (there are) in the pure ladle, the pure juice of beer, the pure embers, the pure water, the pure roasted flour;
do not be jealous, do not (thuluṅ = ?)!

NOTES:

- mebu (OT) = MT me, both 'fire' and 'ember'.
- chyugu (OT) < Tib. ćhu, 'water'.
- camba < Tib. cam-pa, 'roasted barley flour'.

42.

Khaijyuṅgi bo̤ phaṅbai de̤so na̤ṅri mi
mràb.gu̱:ri gyábjyim khabala, ḍéngu:ri gyábjyim khabala,
hà:jyim khabala, hṳ:jyim khabala,
go̤n tà:jyim khabala, gya̤: tàjyim khabala,
syisyim gra̤l àyaṅ, sòsyim phya̤: àyaṅ,
thumbala àthun, mraṅbala àmraṅ,
yò:bala àyo, khyùppala àkhyut,
lò:syi bo̤ro, khursyi bo̤ro!,
cya:syim mì:e àmraṅ, bra̤syim kaṅe àyaṅ.

While throwing Khaijyuṅ's share —
(you who) come sneaking round the corner near the door, come sneaking round the corner of the side-wall (of the cattleshed),

come panting, come gasping,
come holding out (your) coat, come holding out (your) wrap,
(you who) after death did not get a death-feast, during life did not get
a marriage ceremony,
(you) not harmonizing (where others) harmonize, not seeing what is visible,
(to whom) enough is not enough, sufficient is not sufficient,
may (you) be averted and carried away, may (you) be taken and carried
away!,
(you who) when eating do not see (what you eat), when walking do not
have legs, either.

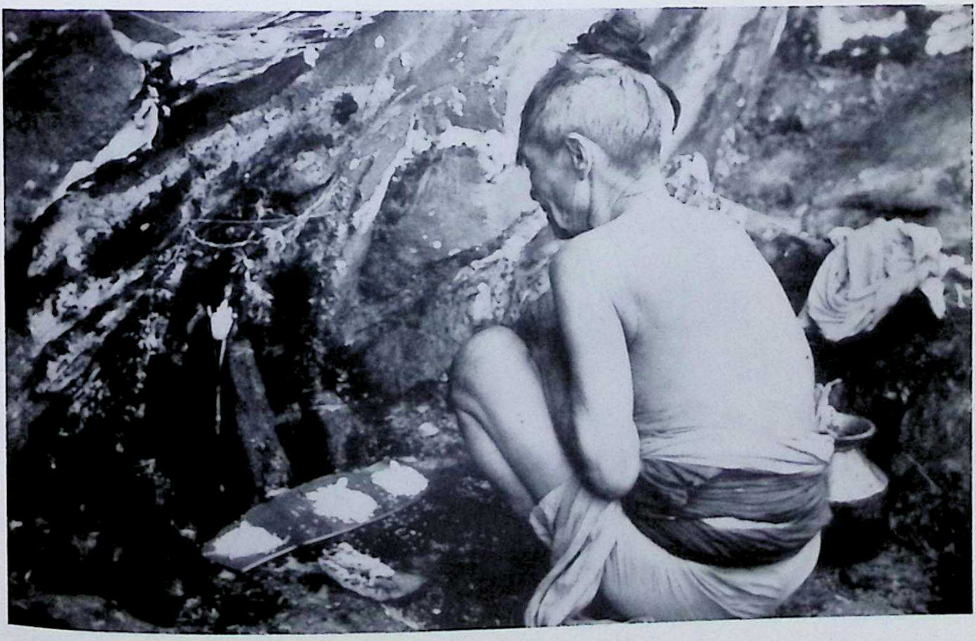
NOTES:

- grạl (MT), 'death-feast', < Tib. sgrol-ba (bsgral), 'to rescue', 'to save', 'to deliver'; cf. also p. 30. — Among the Eastern Tamang, this death-feast is called gewa (also quoted as ghewa) < Tib. dge-ba, (also meaning) 'alms', 'charity', 'treat', 'banquet', as in śi-dge, 'treats taking place at funerals' (Jäschke 1949: 85). On the gewa cf. also Macdonald 1975: 153 ff.

This is followed by a repetition of sections 39 and 40. — The lámbu throws the contents of the ladle on to the refuse. Then, back in the house, he collects the fresh butter from the brim of the vessel that contained the beer and applies it with his thumb to the lower part of the main post near the fire-place. Finally, he deposits the gall-bladder of the sacrificed hen in front of the same main post; the meaning of this act could not be clarified.

The ceremony is concluded with the invocation of the divinities associated with, or residing in, various parts of the house, such as Temba Cuṅne,... Dọbon Chyembo, who are invited to "throne for a moment on the golden throne..." and requested to "keep the blessing of the riches...", etc. (cf. sections 10 and 11). Actually, the lámbu omitted the name of the clan god of the client because he was tired.

7



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PLATES

7. A Tamang boy in traditional dress.
8. The chief *mukhiyā̃* performing the *syịbda* ritual. In front of him: three *tormos* of fresh butter on a layer of husked rice spread on a banana leaf, and an egg inserted into a *bórjo syìṅ*. Notice the hair-lock (*rạlbo*) of the performer who is, at the same time, a *bọmbo*.
9. The *lámbu* performing the ritual of the Nàkhle Máṅ.
10. Villagers watching a ceremony.
11. A Tamang lady in the porch of her house.
12. Ceremonial arrow-shooting at Dasā̃ī̃.
13. Offerings to a *máṅ*. A wooden bottle with beer and with three flakes of fresh butter on its brim; a group of "black" *tormos* in the middle; a jug with water for purifying the sacrificial animal; and leaf-cups with an egg and various sorts of grain.
14. "Black" *tormos* representing a group of *máṅs*.

TEXT 2

TEXT 2
PIKSU MÁṄ

This ceremony can also be performed by the laymen in case a *lámbu* or *bọmbo* are not available. It is addressed to two beings, Họser Bọn and Cen Ḍakpo, who harm both humans and cattle. The symptoms are: pain and the sensation of "bulging" in the eyes, as well as a stiff neck, occasionally with some blisters on it.

Họser Bọn hailed from Tȁwal-Dhụsyini, a village (or rather two closely neighbouring villages) near the western bank of the Ā̃khu Kholā river. He once went hunting in the forest covering the mountain peak Pa:sam Jọ, on the southern slope of which Tȁwal-Dhụsyini is situated. There night overtook him, and he was killed by a leopard. Since he had been a *bọmbo* during his life-time, his spirit became a *sanḍe* (cf.p. 24) and entered into a "union" with a *cen* called Cen Ḍakpo. As already mentioned (p. 23), such "unions" between spirits of human origin (*syimo*) and divine beings of non-human origin (*la*) are characteristic of the Tamang pantheon, and they remind one of the Tibetan divinities which form "sisterhoods" and "brotherhoods" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 338). The name Piksu Máṅ refers to the two beings in this "union". The adjective Piksu is said to derive from MT *piksu/pisku*, 'upside down', with reference to the fact that the sacrificial cock is to be presented with its head pointing downwards.

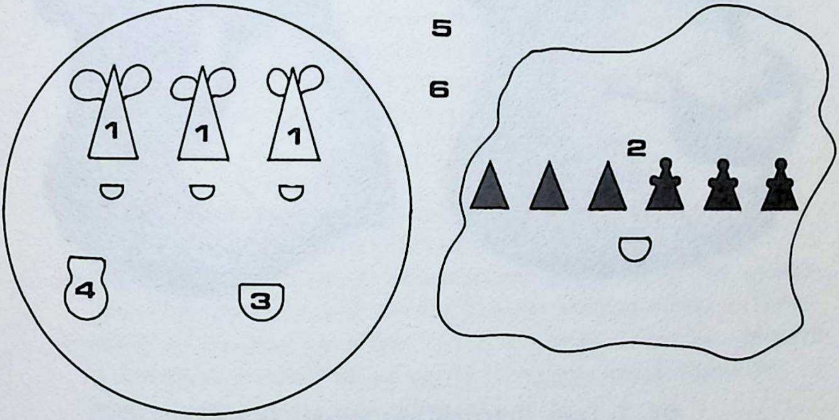
Just as in a number of other ceremonies, in this one, too, the dough figure called *tormo* is an essential element. The term derives from Tib. *gtor-ma*, which is usually rendered by 'sacrificial cake'. Tamang *tormos* are made of flour poured into hot water and stirred until it becomes a thick pap which can be modelled by hand. There is an essential distinction between "white" and "black" *tormos*. The "white" ones, made of maize or wheat or rice flour, are associated with the *la*, and the "black" ones, made of millet flour, with the *máṅs* and *syimos*. The "white" ones are eaten by the participants after the ceremony in a sort of communion, whereas the "black" ones are either destroyed or buried or simply left on the spot. A *tormo* is both an image of, and a gift to, a superhuman being. Malevolent beings are summoned to take their abode in their image-gift which is then disposed of in one of the above-mentioned ways. Tamang *tormos* lack the conceptual complexity and artistical refinement of their Tibetan equivalents, the *gtor-mas* (cf., i.a., Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 347 ff., and Tucci 1970: 133).

The requisites of the ceremony and their arrangement are explained in the diagram below (s. next page):

1 = three conically shaped *tormos* of the "white" type for Cen Ḍakpo, each with

three ear-like lobes (*brọmo-brọsyol*) on their tops; in front of them three bowl-like receptacles (*kòsyo*) of the same material as the *tormo* and containing some popped rice.

2 = six "black" *tormos* for Họser Bọn. Three of them are simple cones (*caṅdor*) and three are shaped like a human figure (*mịṅdor*). One of the latter represents Họser Bọn, a second one his wife; the third one could not be identified. All these three *mịṅdor-tormos* have two dough strips pasted crosswise on their chests and backs, another vertical strip on their backs and a low cylinder-shaped piece of dough on their bellies. The "cylinders" represent the drum of a *bọmbo* and the vertical strip his long hair-lock, the *rạlbo* (cf. p. 32). The strips pasted across the chests and backs of the *tormos* are said to symbolize the *bọmbo*'s rosary or *syaṅsyaṅ* (cf. p. 32). — In front of the six *tormos*, another receptacle (*kòsyo*) is placed, which contains some boiled rice, beer-dregs, tobacco, milk and buttermilk or curd.



The "white" *tormos* are arranged on a sieve and the "black" ones on a flat stone which is called *den*, lit. 'platform'.

3 = some incense bought in the bazaar, which is kept burning throughout the ceremony.

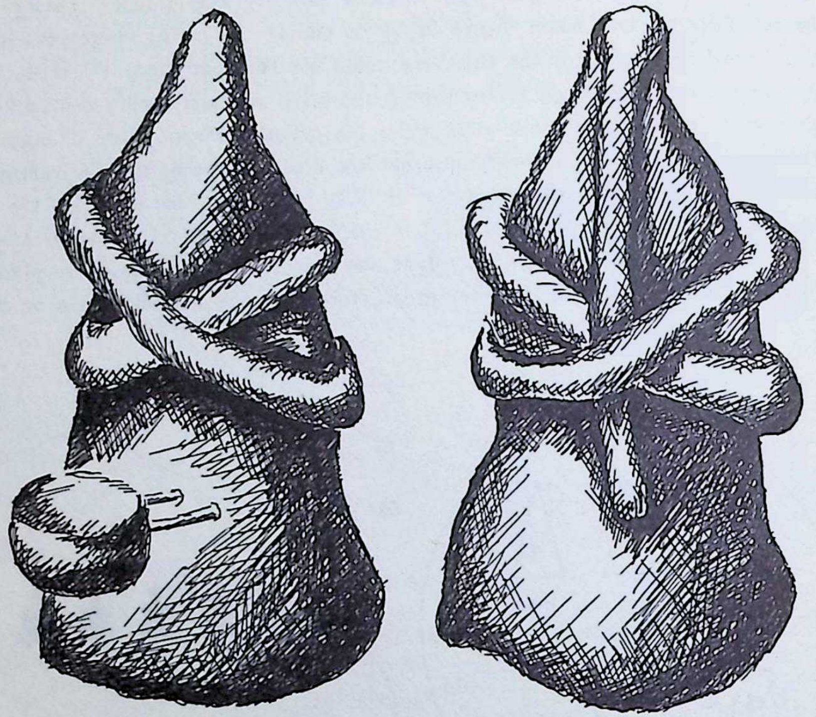


Fig. 1. Front (left) and back (right) of the *mɨṅdor* representing Họser Bọn with the "rosary" and the "hair-lock" (*rạlbo*). The "drum" is fixed by means of small sticks on its "belly".

4 = a small water-pot (bụmba) with fresh water for purifying the sacrificial animal and the sacrificer. Near it, there is a heap of sergi mone (husked rice).

5 = a long branch (pa:sam) of the chestnut tree (T. teṅsyiṅ, Castanopsis hystrix) to which a coin of one pice is fastened.

6 = a cock for sacrifice.

1.

ha̤:y saṅo, saṅ solo!,
sergi mone chya:deṅ phuljyi,
karma sạṅbai tiṅri, ñẹma sạṅbai tiṅri [*or:*] dạwai họser nạṅri
laṅjyen nórbui khari chyoppa phuljyi, chyoppa cu:jyi, siṅgargi pa:sam
cu:jyi, tormoi torsyol, brọmo-brọsyol cu:jyi,
Gyámdi Cen Ḍạkpo!
Tàwal-Dhụsyini yụlsaṅ nạṅri chya:la kuibi Mème Họser Bọn, Si:si Rá:ñi
Gyámdi Cendeṅ chyipjen-puṅjen cu:nem.
Mème Họser Bọngi kuli caṅma cu:jyi, caṅdor sòm, mịṅdor sòm, ṅạsyiṅ lamo,
rạlbo, gọmdo cu:jyi, chyoppa cu:jyi.

ha̤:y, may incense be burnt, may (you) be incensed!
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand,
amidst (the constellation of) the auspicious stars, amidst (the constellation of) the auspicious sun [or:] *amidst the moon's beam of light,*
on behalf of the precious cattle, (I) have offered a sacrifice, prepared a sacrifice, prepared the pa:sam of the siṅgar tree, prepared the tormo's torsyol (and) brọmo-brọsyol,
Gyámdi Cen Ḍạkpo!
Grandfather Họser Bọn (and) Si:si Rá:ñi, who reside in the area of Tàwal-Dhụsyini (and) who entered into a union with Gyámdi Cen Ḍạkpo.
(I) have prepared Grandfather Họser Bọn's pure body, prepared three caṅdor, three mịṅdor, the drum's frame, the rạlbo (and) the gọmdo, prepared a sacrifice.

NOTES:

- dạwai họser... (instead of ñẹma sạṅbai...) is said when the ceremony takes place in the evening.

- laṅjyen nórbu (OT) < Tib. glaṅ ćhen, 'precious ox', but my informants rendered it by 'cattle' as a general term, + Tib. nor-bu, lit. 'jewel'.
- khari (OT), here 'for'.
- siṅgargi pa:sam < OT siṅgar = MT teṅsyiṅ (cf. above), according to the informants, + pa:sam < Tib. dpag-bsam, 'thought', 'wish', as in Tib. dpag-bsam-śiṅ, "the name of a fabulous tree that grants every wish" (Jäschke 1949: 326). In Tamang rituals, the pa:sam is a branch or a young tree which is dug into the ground and erected in a place where a ceremony is performed. For example, the bọmbo erects a pa:sam in the courtyard of his client, and it is then associated with the spiritual backbone or life-tree of the latter; cf. also dụṅma in text 1,36.
- tormoi torsyol/tormo-torsyol, torsyol seems to be an echo-word, cf. also brọsyol.
- brọmoi brọsyol/brọmo-brọsyol are the dough-pieces pasted on the top or sides of a tormo, and which look like ears or tentacles. They symbolize the hair-lock(s) (brọṅdo) of the being the tormo is to represent. -syol ?< Tib. źol, 'that which hangs beneath', 'beard' (Das 1970: 1077).
- Gyámdi < T. gyám, 'path', + dị(raṅ), 'below', here with reference to the "lower side" of a path, that is, to the sloping terrain immediately below the path that leads across an incline. Cen Ḍạkpo, cf. pp. 15-16.
- chya:la kuibi (OT) < chya:ba, 'to reside', + kuiba, cf. text 1,23.
- Rá:ñi < N. rāni, 'queen'.
- Mème, lit. 'grandfather'.
- chyipjen-puṅjen ? < Tib.'khyig(-pa), 'to bind', + dpuṅ, 'host', 'help'; T. -jen < Tib. ćan, 'having', 'with'.
- kuli < Tib. sku-lus, hon. for lus, 'body'. Otherwise Tib. lus > T. lị:.
- caṅdor ? < Tib. *gcaṅ(-ma)-gtor(-ma).
- mịṅdor is called a tormo of a being whose name is known. Hence mịṅdor < Tib. miṅ, 'name', in *miṅ-gtor. The caṅdor, by contrast, is a "nameless" tormo.
- ṅạsyiṅ, a euphemism for the wooden 'drum-frame', or for both the 'frame and the stick of the drum' of a bọmbo. ṅạsyiṅ < T. ṅạ, 'drum', + syìṅ, 'wood'.
- lamo is part of the euphemism for 'drum-frame', ? < T. lamo, 'goddess'.
- gọmdo = the strips of dough pasted across the chest and back of a tormo, ? < Tib. sgom-thag, 'the meditating cord' consisting of a long piece of cloth slung around the body of a yogi (cf. Das 1970: 326 f.).
- chyoppa, otherwise unusual with reference to a máṅ or syimo like Họser Bọn, might be an indication of the latter's "union" with a la, namely Cen Ḍạkpo.

2.

Bhọkteni yụlsaṅ nạṅjye saṅjyi,
Wodi kharda-chobda yụlsaṅ nạṅjye saṅjyi,
Cìliṅ Jóṅ yụlgi syịbda-nè:da yụlsaṅ nạṅjye saṅjyi,

Pa:ttal Khorsom Karyul Jyọmo, Mensyar Jyọmo yụlsaṅ nạṅjye saṅjyi....

(I) have incensed from within the area of Bhọkteni,
(I) have incensed from within the area of the kharda-chobda of Wodi,
(I) have incensed from within the area of the yụlgi syịbda-nè:da of Cìliṅ Jóṅ,
(I) have incensed from within the area of Karyul Jyọmo, Mensyar Jyọmo of Pa:ttal Khorsom....

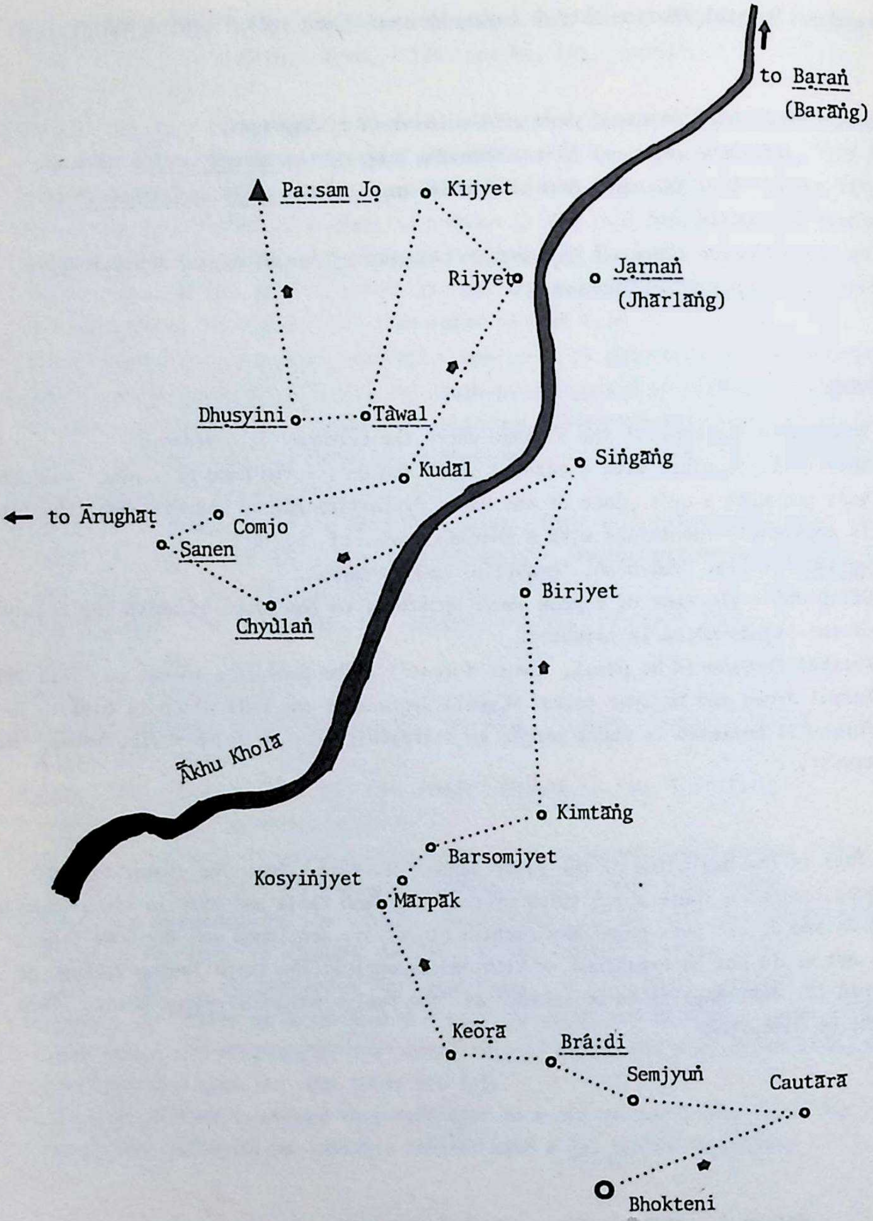
NOTES:

- Bhọkteni = the name of the village where the ceremony is performed.
- Wodi (lit. 'a place with a natural water source') = the name of a place near Bhokteni and with a cult place of the Hindu divinities Kālikā and Kāli Nāg; the latter is apparently identified with a kharda-chobda, cf. p. 16 f.
- yụlsaṅ ? < Tib. *yul-bzaṅ, 'beautiful country/area'.
- Cìliṅ Jóṅ = the name of a peak above Bhokteni, on the slope of which the cult place of the syịbda-nè:da is situated.
- Pa:ttal Khorsom (< N. pātal, 'dense forest') = the name of a forest on Cìliṅ Jóṅ.
- Karyul Jyọmo and Mensyar (also: M̃esyar) Jyọmo have one cult place in common. The former is believed to cause people to shiver with fever. Jyọmo < Tib. ǰo-mo, 'mistress'.

This is the beginning of the rịrap saṅba (cf. text 1,16). The enumeration of places follows a route which twice crosses the Ā̄khu Kholā and ends in Tàwal-Dhụsyini and Pa:sam Jọ (s. next page).Why certain places are mentioned and why some others are not could not be explained — with one exception: The large Tamang village of Jạrnaṅ (N. Jhārlāṅg) is to be avoided as "the twelve powerful syimos of this place might be disturbed".

3.

Pa:sam Jọ rịluṅma nạṅri cya:gi bịja khursyi,
taṅsar-módoṅ khurbai khari,ta:jyi ṅákpajye ḍạlna kuisyi,
Mème Họser Bọn Gyámdi Cen Ḍạkpodeṅ chyipjen-puṅjen cu:nem.


to Baraṅ
(Barāṅg)
Pa:sam Jọ
Kijyet
Rijyet
Jarnaṅ
(Jhārlāṅg)
Dhusyini
Tàwal
Kudāl
Siṅgāṅg
to Ārughāṭ
Comjo
Sanen
Chyùlaṅ
Birjyet
Ā̃khu Kholā
Kimtāṅg
Barsomjyet
Kosyiṅjyet
Mārpāk
Keõṛā
Brá:di
Semjyuṅ
Cautārā
Bhokteni

Some places on the route followed
in the rirap for Piksu Máṅ, text 2

(approx. scale: 1 inch = 2 miles)

When he took the rifle in order to bag a ghoral in the dense forest
of Pa:sam Jọ, Grandfather Họser Bọn was killed by a leopard and
entered into a union with Gyámdi Cen D̤akpo.

NOTES:

- rịluṅma (OT), 'dense forest', 'jungle', ? < Tib. ri, 'mountain', + luṅ(-pa), 'valley'. In other texts, we have rịna:luṅ for 'jungle', wherein nạ: < Tib. nags(-ma), 'forest'.
- cya:gi bịja, here 'rifle', cf. above text 1,36.
- taṅsar-módoṅ (OT) = 'the ghoral' (a Himalayan wild goat), according to SB, taṅsar, 'he-ghoral', and módoṅ, 'she-ghoral' (?).
- khurbai khari may also mean 'while carrying away', the present translation follows the informants' interpretation. Normally "taṅsar-módoṅ khurbai khari" should have preceded "cya:gi bịja khursyi" if the latter interpretation is correct.
- ta:jyi ṅákpa/ta:ji ṅákpo/ta:ji ṅármo/ta:jen ṅákpo - ta:jyi/ta:ji ? < Tib. stag, 'tiger', + Tib. gzig, 'leopard'; ṅákpo also means 'sorcerer' (Tib. sṅags-po), but I assume that here it is a corruption of ṅármo < Tib. ṅar-mo/ṅar-po, 'strong' 'ferocious', cf. text 4,3.
- d̤alna kuisyi < OT d̤alba < Tib. 'dral-ba, 'to pull down', 'to cut open (an animal)', + kuisyi < OT kuiba, cf. chya:la kuibi in section 1.

4.

laṅjyen nórbui khari, nàwa-chàwa kuibi khari
chyoppa cu:jyi, chyoppa phuljyi,
laṅjyen nórbuda blạ yạra — teno!, che: yạra — teno!,
kaṅba ñạmba — salo!, lạkpa ñạmba — salo!,
chye:ne-bọne, oṅne-byụṅne — salo!,
celu-gạṅba mạsuṅo!, lạyo họṅla, dịkpa họṅla.

On behalf of the precious cattle, at a time of illness and pain,
(I) have prepared a sacrifice, have offered a sacrifice,
the soul of the precious cattle is escaping — hold it back!,
(its) life-force is escaping — hold it back!,
(its) legs are affected by illness — heal them!,
(its) hands (forelegs) are affected by illness — heal them!,
(it has) tearing pain and swelling, hacking and coughing — heal it!

please do not be angry and jealous!, (otherwise) the sin of killing may accrue, a sin may accrue (from your anger).

NOTES:

- nàwa-chàwa is the "Tibetanized" pronunciation of MT nàba-chàba < nàba, 'to be sick', and chàba, 'to ache'.
- kuibi < OT kuiba, as in chya:la kuiba in section 1.
- blạ (MT) is also used with reference to humans, < Tib. bla, 'soul'.
- che: (MT), 'life', 'life-principle', < Tib. che, 'life'.
- yạra (OT) ? < Tib.('kh)yar-ro, 'it leaves', < Tib. 'khyar-ba, 'to go astray', MT yạrba, 'to leave'.
- chye:ne-bọne, an OT idiom, cf. MT chye:ba, 'to ache with a tearing sensation', and MT bọba, 'to bloat'.
- ońne-byụńne, an OT idiom < OT *ońba, 'to cough' (?), + MT byụńba, 'to cough'.
- celu-gạńba (OT), I have followed SB's interpretation of it as a twin-word for 'anger and jealousy'. In MT, celu/cyelu is used with reference to a sudden deterioration of the state of a sick person, which is imputed to the anger of a superhuman being.
- mạsuńo = the OT negative of sụńba, 'to tell' (hon.), < Tib. gsuń-ba, and seems to be part of an idiomatic expression. In some texts, we have mạsońo in the same context, ? < OT sọńba, lit. 'to make'.
- lạyọ, s. p. 30.
- dịkpa < Tib. sdig-pa, 'sin'.
- họńla < OT họńba ? < Tib. 'oń-ba/yoń-ba, 'to come', 'to happen'.

5.

lańjyen nórbui gọde nạńri, yạ:jyen nórbui gọde nạńri, rạbu karboi
   gọde nạńri
ta:jyi ńákpo syońla, dạmjyi ńákpo syońla, nẹd syońla, rịn syońla —
   pharasya:go!,
mị: thamai kuldap, ñẹndup syońla — pharasya:go!,
gọde nạńri gyạdeń.toń phelyu!,
sergi mone chya:deń phuljyi,
chya:.jạlo!

In the shed of the precious cattle, in the shed of the precious yak,
in the shed of the white goat,
the leopard may do harm, the bear may do harm, illness may do harm,
epidemics may do harm — remove them!,
the magic arrow, the harming charms of malevolent humans may do harm —
remove them!,
come down to make (the animals) thrive by the millions in the cattleshed!,
(I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand,
Hail!

NOTES:

- gọde (OT) = MT gọra ?<N. goṭh, 'temporary cattleshed'.
- dạmjyi/dạmji/dọmjyen < OT dom < Tib. dom, 'brown bear'.
- syoṅla < syoṅba ? < Tib. rkyoṅ-ba, 'to spread'.
- pharasya:go = imp. of OT pharasya:ba < Tib. phar, 'away', + 'ǰog-pa (źag-pa), 'to put', 'to lay aside'.
- mị: thamai (OT) < Tib. mi tha-ma'i, 'of a vile person', Tib. tha-ma, 'last', 'vile'.
- ñẹndup = ñẹndap (cf. text 1,13), according to SB.
- gyạdeṅ.toṅ (OT) < Tib. brgya theṅs stoṅ, '100 x 1000'.
- phelyu < MT phelba, 'to thrive', + yùba, 'to come down'.

The sieve on which the offerings for Cen Ḍạkpo are arranged is lifted and moved several times around the cattle's heads: this is the technique of syụppa (s. text 1,22).

6.

ù hạ:y syọso:!,
laṅjyen nórbui, yạ:jyen nórbui blạ syụppa, che: syụppa mạyin,
noppa laba — syụppa, gạwa laba — syụppa,
Pa:sam Jọ nạṅri ṭhuṅla kuibi Góṅgowali Gyámdi Cen Ḍạkpo!

ù hạ:y syọso:!,
this is not to remove the soul by a sacrifice, to remove the life-force

by a sacrifice, of the precious cattle, the precious yak,
(rather it is you whom I) remove by a sacrifice (if you) do harm,
(whom I) remove by a sacrifice (even if you) do good,
Góṅgowali Gyámdi Cen Ḍạkpo, who originated in (the forest of) Pa:sam Jọ!

NOTES:

- mạyin = OT negative of yịmba, 'to be'.
- gạwa = the "Tibetanized" pronunciation of gạba, cf. text 1,24 (gạyaṅ).
- Góṅgowali, this epitheton is said to derive from the name of a pass on Pa:sam Jọ.

7.

phrodo mạsuṅo, sụrdo-koloṅ mạsuṅo!,
laṅjyen nórbu, dọyajyen nórbuda rạwa sẹṅo, rạwa kedo!,
ṭàṅne-bọne, oṅne-byụṅne, chye:ne-wábne jyụṅba — pharasya:go!,
syabalgi dạ, yùṅsyalgi dạ, chermai dạ, wá:mai dạ, tà: mulane ploksyi bọro, ló:syi bọro, khursyi bọro!

Please do not be jealous, please do not be angry and jealous!,
protect, protect the precious cattle, the precious yak!,
swelling and bloating, hacking and coughing, tearing pain and burning pain (may) come about — remove them!,
the magic arrow of the Lycopodium clavatum, the magic arrow of the marble stone, the magic arrow of the cherma scrub, the magic arrow of (a splinter of?) the wá:ma bamboo, whatever it may be, take out and carry it away, avert and carry it away, take and carry it away!

NOTES:

- phrodo (OT) < Tib. phrag-dog, 'jealousy'.
- dọyajyen ? < Tib. *do(-po) gyag-ĉhen, 'the load (carrying) precious yak', < Tib. do-po, 'load'; on yạ:jyen cf. text 1,33.
- kedo < keppa = ? keppa in mạkedo, cf. text 1,28.
- ṭàṅne-bọne < MT ṭàṅba, 'to be swollen', + MT bọba, 'to bloat', 'to be fat'.
- chye:ne-wábne < MT chye:ba, s. section 4, + MT wáppa, 'to ache with a burning

sensation'.

- syabal was classified by the informants as a kind of moss; actually, it is Lycopodium clavatum which resembles moss.
- dạ , the magic projectile, cf. text 1,13.
- yùṅsyal/yùṅsyel < MT yùṅba, 'stone', + Tib. śel, 'crystal', 'glass'.
- cherma = OT name of a thorny scrub, according to the informants, < Tib. cher-ma, 'thorn', 'thorn-bush'.
- wá:ma = OT name of a kind of bamboo resembling the Arundinaria bamboo, according to the informants.
- ploksyi = OT conjunctive of plokpa,'to take out'. It refers to the extraction of a dạ. Ordinarily, this is done by means of sucking. The bọmbo applies his mouth or the "sucking horn" (ṅapru), made of the horn of the wild goat, to the affected part of the body. If the extraction is carried out with the help of the latter, the bọmbo sucks through the open tip of the horn until the flesh of the sick person or animal tightly adheres to the lower orifice. The hole on the tip is now closed with a lump of beeswax, and it takes some time for the dạ or dạser, consisting of moss, stone splinters, hairs etc. (cf. text 1,13), to gather in the horn. To facilitate the intervention, a small incision is made at the spot where the dạ is suspected to hide in the flesh.
- ló:syi = OT conjunctive of ló:ba, cf. text 1,

So far the recitation has taken place in the cattleshed itself. Now the offerings are carried on to a nearby crest or peak where the siṅgar branch is stuck into the ground. In front of it, the tormos are arranged, and some incense is burnt. The cock is tied to the siṅgar branch in such a way that its head points downwards. Finally, the performer throws some rice grains on to the animal in order to cause it to shake, which is a sign of Họser Bọn's readiness to accept it as a sacrifice. This is the technique of pho:ba, cf. text 1,23. The cock is offered to Họser Bọn only, not to the Cen.

8.

Mème Họser Bọnda chyoppa cu:jyi, chyoppa phuljyi,
siṅgargi pa:sam cu:jyi, caṅdor sòm, miṇ̇dor sòm cu:jyi, rạlbo , gọmdo
   cu:jyi, wại kò:bi maruṅge bhá:le(i) chyoppa cu:jyi, chyoppa phuljyi,
laṅjyen nórbuda rạwa sẹṅo, rạwa kedo!

To Grandfather Họser Bọn, (I) have prepared a sacrifice, have offered a sacrifice,
have prepared the pa:sam of the siṅgar tree, have prepared three caṅdor, three mịṅdor, have prepared the ṛalbo, the gọmdo, have prepared the sacrifice, have offered the sacrifice of a singing maruṅge cock,
protect, protect the precious cattle!

NOTES:

- wại kò:b(a)i (MT), lit. 'song singing', idiomatically, cf. git gāunu in Nepali.
- maruṅge < N. maruṅge = name of a dance, according to SB (?), + N. bhāle, 'cock', > MT bhá:le. SB pointed out, that the reference to the singing and dancing cock is to be understood as a praising of the sacrificial animal. In the next section, recited after the slaughter, the cock is referred to as jyạbu sali < OT jyạbu, instead of MT bhá:le.

No sooner the cock shakes its body, it is purified with a few drops of water and slaughtered. Its body is carefully examined: one looks for dark stains on the surface of the internal organs and on the flesh (beneath the skin) of the thighs, breast, neck, etc. The presence of such stains on the heart, for example, indicate that Họser Bọn and Cen Ḍakpo "hit" the cattle's heart, and a similar correspondence is assumed with regard to other organs of the sacrificial animal and the cattle affected. Red stains indicate a recent "harm", black ones a chronic ailment.

Now a piece each of the liver, lungs, flesh around the ribs, flesh from one of the thighs and one of the wings is skewered on to a small stick. These pieces, along with the upper half of the beak, are then roasted over a fire, whereas some pieces from the crop and gizzard are left raw. Finally, the meat offerings, raw and roasted, are deposited in frontof the six "black" tormos. The rest of the cock will be prepared and consumed at home after the ceremony. The "white" tormos must be eaten on the spot, whereas the "black" ones are simply abandoned. But first the adressees of the ceremony have to be sent back to their abode:

9.

hạ:y, syạ: solo!,
jyạbu sali syabut, ṭha:but nomsyi syạ: solo!,
mana kùi brẹbu caṅma, tormo-torsyol nomsyi syạ: solo!,

siṅgargi pa:sam nomsyi syạ: solo!,
ladar-dụndal nomsyi syạ: solo!

hạ:y, please be dismissed!,
take the share of meat, the share of blood (from) the cock and please
be dismissed!,
take the nine mānā of pure rice, the tormo-torsyol and please be dismissed!,
take the pa:sam of the siṅgar tree and please be dismissed!,
take the ladar-dụndal and please be dismissed!

NOTES:

- syạ: solo (OT), a frequent expression inviting the divinities to leave the place of the ceremony and return to their abodes. One is reminded of Tib. bśegs-sol, the summons to a divinity to take its abode elsewhere (s. Schuh 1973: 413).
- jyạbu sali (OT) < Tib. bya-pho, 'cock'; sali < ?. SB insisted on translating jyạbu sali simply by 'cock', just as he rendered jyạbu ùrma by 'hen' (text 1,7).
- mana kùi < N. mānā, a weight by volume, + MT kùi, 'of nine'.
- brẹbu (OT) = MT syit, 'husked (raw) rice'; brẹbu < Tib. bras(-mo), 'rice', or bras-bu, 'fruit', 'corn', 'grain'. The "nine mānā of pure rice", which would amount to about 2.8 kg, is not to be taken literally and occurs as a standard expression in other texts too.
- ladar-dụndal/laral-dụndal/lhadar is the name of the coin of one pice tied to the top of the pa:sam (cf. introduction). ladar ? < Tib. bla-dar, the "prayer-flag", or ? < Tib. *lha-bdar, lit. 'god-fee' (cf. skyel-bdar in Jäschke 1949: 269). - dụndal < ?.

10.

Bhọkteni yụlsaṅ nạñjye syạ: solo!,
Cautārā yụlsaṅ nạñjye syạ: solo!....

Please be dismissed from within the area of Bhokteni!,
please be dismissed from within the area of Cautārā!.....

Following the same pattern, the route of the rịrap is repeated in order to escort Cen Ḍạkpo and Họser Bọn to Tàwal-Dhụsyini and Pa:sam Jọ. Seemingly, they are even "dismissed" from their abodes, as the next section shows. The informants' comment: as in the rịrap at the beginning, Cen and Hoser have been brought down to Bhokteni, in the same way they must now be re-escorted, and that their dismissal from Tàwal and Pa:sam Jọ is also to be understood as a bid of farewell on the part of the recitor.

Tàwal-Dhụsyini yụlsaṅ nạṅjye syạ: solo!,
Pa:sam Jọ yụlsaṅ nạṅjye syạ: solo!,
phrodo mạsuṅo, sụrdo-koloṅ mạsuṅo!

Please be dismissed from within the area of Tàwal-Dhụsyini!,
please be dismissed from within the area of Pa:sam Jọ!,
please do not be jealous, please do not be angry and jealous!

TEXT 3

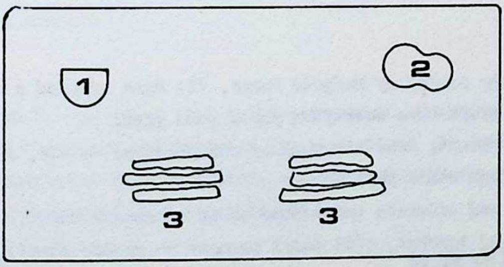
TEXT 3

CEN BRA:

Cen Brá: is the name of another "union" between a *cen* called Rẹdo Cengi Gyálbo who originated (*ṭhuṅba*) at Kharso Brá:, on the one hand, and a *dụd* called Rẹdo Dụdgi Gyálbo who originated in Serduṅ-Sedajyet, on the other. The name Cen Brá: seems to be a contraction of Cen + (Kharso) Brá:, and the word *rẹdo* was explained as meaning something like 'arduously hoping for', probably from Tib. *re-dogs*, 'hope and fear'. No further details on the specific nature of these two beings were available.

Cen Brá: affects the cattle only, and the symptoms were described as follows: a swollen head, watering eyes and coughing. Cen Brá: is also placated prophylactically on the full-moon day of the month of Kārtik (October-November) or Maṅgsir (November-December) of the Nepalese calendar. This full-moon day is called Maṅgsir Purne, even though it may fall in the month of Kārtik.

The ceremony begins in the cattleshed where a small platform of branches is erected. On it, the following requisites are placed:



1 = various sorts of incense (N. *dhup*) bought in the bazaar, in the text referred to as *kolkol*.

2 = some refined butter (N. *ghiu*) kneaded into maize flour, the mixture being called *phemar* (Tib. *phya-dmar*, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 363 f.). It is brought into contact with some embers and smoulders during the whole ceremony, as does the incense.

3 = three flat stones piled on top of each other and with leaves of the *cèndi* plant

(Artemisia sp.) between them. The meaning and function of these two stone piles could not be explained by the informants.

The incense and the phemar are lit, and the invocation starts with "saṅo, saṅ solo!", addressing itself to the Cen and the Dud whose places of origin are mentioned. Then, as in the previous text no. 2, a "complaint-cum-request" is recited in the usual stereotype manner:

1.

Màṅsyir Pùrñe bạrdoi khari lọle:bi chyoppa phuljyi, chyoppa cu:jyi,
laṅjyen nórbu, dọyajyen nórbu, rạbu karbo ñiṅda kha salo, lị: salo!,
neinei-phetphet jyụṅba — pharasya:go!,
syèt ṅạmba, timra ṅạmba — pharasya:go!,
ṭàṅne-bọne, oṅne-byụṅne, yạra syelne, mạra syelne, khokpai dáni jyụṅba —
   pharasya:go!,
nẹdgi ma:lo syoṅla, rịngi ma:lo syoṅla — pharasya:go!,
laṅjyen nórbu, yạ:jyen nórbui gọde nạṅri chesum, bḷasum teno!,
lọle:bi chyoppa phulla.

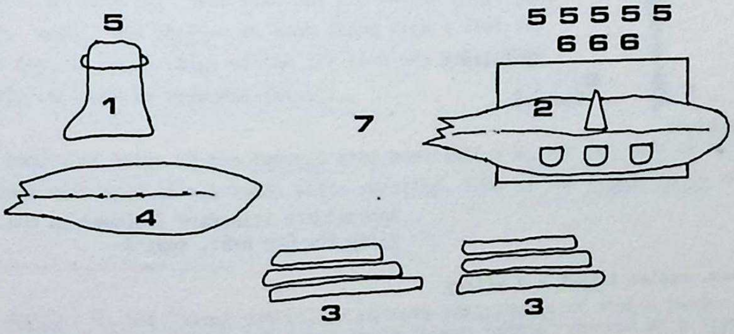
Within the period of Maṅgsir Purne, (I) have offered a sacrifice,
have prepared a sacrifice for a good year,
heal the mouth, heal the body of the precious cattle, the precious yak,
the dear white goat!,
illness and ailments (may) come about — remove them!,
lice (may) torment, tick (may) torment — remove them!,
swelling and bloating, hacking and coughing, "rinsing up" and "rinsing
down", the magic arrow (causing an illness) of the interior of the
body (may) come about — remove them!,
the magic arrow (?) of illness may do harm, the magic arrow (?) of
epidemics may do harm — remove them!,
in the shed of the precious cattle, the precious yak, hold back (its)
life-force, (its) soul!,
(I) will offer a sacrifice for a good year!

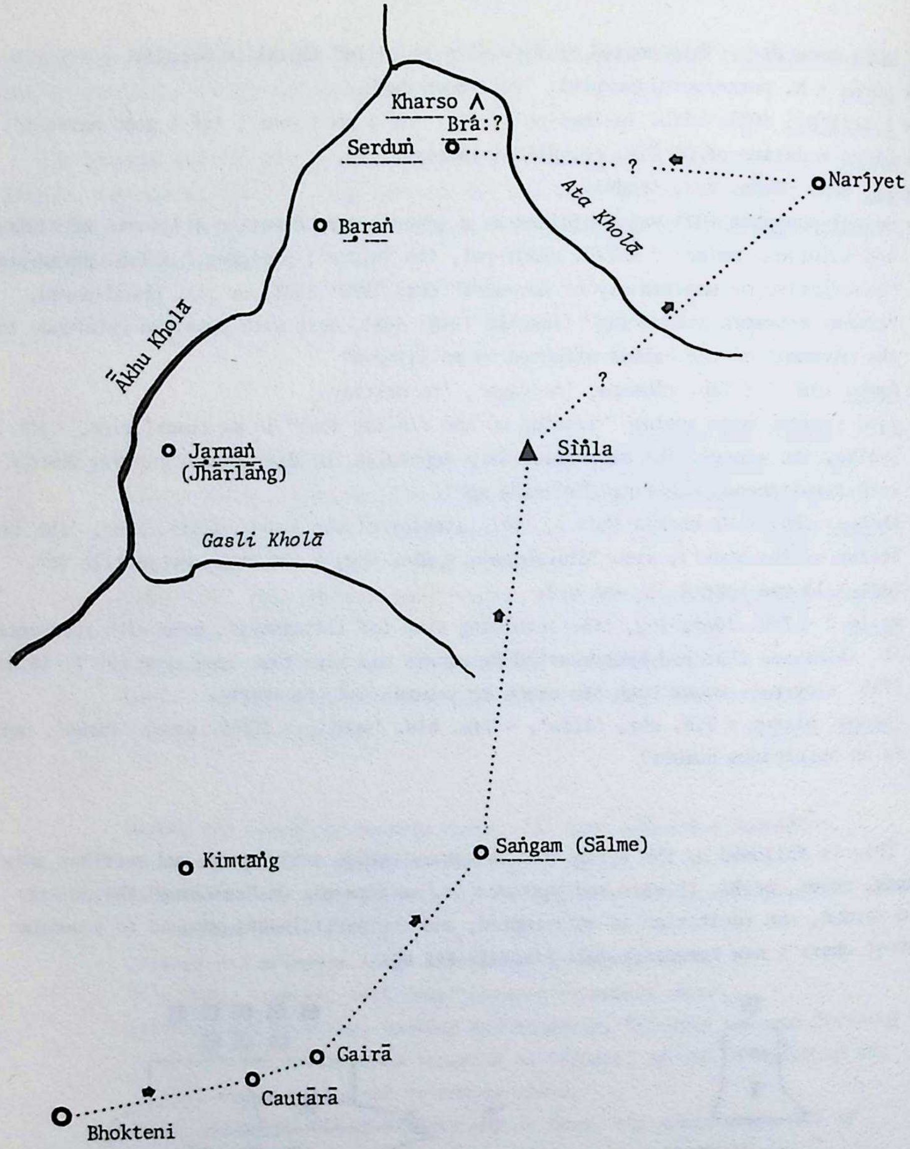
NOTES:

- bardo (cf. text 1,34), 'period', here with reference to the fact that the ceremony can be performed either on the full-moon day itself or within five days after the full-moon day. This period of five days is called pañcak in Nepali.

- pùrñe < N. purne/purni/purṇimā, 'full-moon day'.
- lọle:b(a)i (OT) < Tib. lo-legs-pa'i, lit. 'of a good year', 'of a good harvest'.
- ñiṅda = dative of OT ñiṅ, cf. ñiṅbai in text 1,12.
- lị: (OT) < Tib. lus, 'body'.
- neinei-phetphet (OT) was explained as a general term denoting all sorts of sicknesses and injuries. neinei ? < Tib. snad(-pa), 'to injure'; phetphet ? < Tib. phyad-phyod, "descriptive of uncertainty of movement" (Das 1970: 833), or Tib. phyad-phyad, "clumsy attempts at dancing" (Jäschke 1949: 348), here with possible reference to the movement of the cattle affected by an illness?
- ṅạmba (OT) ? < Tib. rṁam-pa, 'to rage', 'to destroy'.
- yạra syelne, mạra syelne, "rinsing up and rinsing down" in my translation, < MT syalba, 'to rinse'. The expression is a euphemism for diarrhoea ("rinsing down") with simultaneous vomiting ("rinsing up").
- khokpai dâni < MT khokpa (hon.), 'the interior of the body', (< Tib. khog, 'the interior of the body'), also 'diarrhoea', + dâni < dạ = the magic projectile (cf. text 1,13 and text 2,7), -ni = ?.
- ma:lo ? < Tib. *dmag-log, 'the returning army (of illnesses)', here with reference to illnesses that had been averted by others and have thus come upon us? T. 16:ba (Tib. zlog-pa) means both 'to cause to return' and 'to avert'.
- chesum, blạsum < Tib. che, 'life', + Tib. bla, 'soul', + ? Tib. gsum, 'three', here as an auspicious number?

This is followed by the rịrap. Its itinerary avoids settlements and mentions only ponds, caves, peaks, forests and pastures (s. next page). On "reaching" Kharso Brá: and Serduṅ, the recitation is interrupted, and the participants proceed to a nearby forest where a new temporary cult place is set up:




Kharso
Brá:?
Serduṅ
?
Narjyet
Ata Kholā
Baraṅ
Ākhu Kholā
?
Jarnaṅ
(Jhārlaṅg)
Siṅla
Gasli Kholā
Saṅgam (Sālme)
Kimtaṅg
Gairā
Cautārā
Bhokteni

Approximate itinerary followed in the *rirap* for Cen Brá:, text 3

(approx. scale: 1 inch = 2 miles)

1 = an upright natural stone for the dud, with a "turban" of a few home-spun unrefined cotton threads wound around the top, and with some vermilion powder (N.sindur) sprinkled on to it. Such a stone seems to symbolize a mountain and/or to replace an image (cf. Siiger 1967,I: 188, 194 with reference to the Lepcha). It is called thoyer < Tib. tho-yor, 'heap of stones', 'stone pyramid', which is connected with lha-tho described as a heap of stones and abode of a mountain god on the top of a mountain pass (Tucci 1967: 159, cf. also Jäschke 1949: 599).*

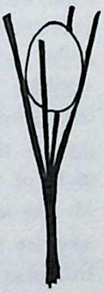
2 = a platform (braṅge) for the cen, similar to the one erected previously in the cattleshed. On it, a banana-leaf is spread for the offerings, namely some husked rice, popped maize and popped (unhusked) rice, some beer, coins amounting to three pice and a conical tormo made of fresh butter. At the back and on both sides, the platform is surrounded by plain pieces of cloth tied to the posts at the four corners. (The same type of "altar-platform" is used by the bombo in certain ceremonies).

3 = two piles of three flat stones each, now with leaves of the teṅsyiṅ tree (Castanopsis hystrix) between them and erected in front of the platform and the thoyer.

4 = another banana-leaf with some husked rice on it.

5 = six pa:sams (cf. text 2,1) made of branches of the teṅsyiṅ tree and stuck into the ground: one behind the thoyer and five behind the platform, all with a few cotton threads wound around them. The five pa:sams behind the platform are also decorated with strips of cloth as flags (darluṅ).

6 = three leafless branches stuck into the ground; their upper ends are split open in such a way that they fork off. Into each of these fourfold "forks" a raw egg is inserted as an offering. Such branches are called bórjo-syiṅ < syiṅ, 'wood', and bórjo = an iron stand with a flat bowl on its top, in which chips of the fir tree are burnt (now entirely replaced by kerosene-lamps).



7 = a bundle of twigs of the teṅsyiṅ tree bent into a U, the two ends of which the performer will hold in his hands while reciting. This is the syiṅne na:jo or syiṅne

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* The thoyer, as the Tamang use it, is closely reminiscent of simple Hindu cult places, especially in the rural areas where unhewn stones, instead of a statue, are the objects of worship. The vermilion powder, the cotton threads (N. kā̃co dhāgo) and the banana-leaf also appear to be of Hindu origin.

nargu (cf. text 1,5), on the bend of which some incense will be burnt. Contrary to the etymology of nargu, namely Tib. sna-dgu, 'nine sorts', only one kind of twig is used.

The first part of the recitation in the forest is of the saṅba type (cf. text 1, 4-6), enumerating the different sorts of plants burnt imaginarily as an incense from different parts of the landscape: the peak, valley, meadow, water, etc. In addition, the four corners are also mentioned: (a) the East (syar) is associated with kolkol ? < Skt. gulgul = Tib. gu-gul, 'the resin of Amyris agallochum'; (b) the West (nụp) with cendereṅ = ? MT cènḍi, 'Artemisia sp.'; (c) the North with jyạṅjyen mạrbo = ?, < MT jyạṅ, 'North' and OT mạrbo, 'red';* and (d) the South (lo) with loñi lapsaṅ karbo = ?, < OT karbo, 'white', + ? < Tib. lha-bsaṅs, the 'rite of incensing'.

The rịrap is repeated once again along the route from Bhokteni to Serduṅ and Kharso Brá:, and is followed by an enumeration of the offerings to the cen, that is, Rẹdo Cengi Gyálbo:

(a) sergi braṇge = 'golden platform';
(b) sergi pa:sam = 'golden pa:sam';
(c) phoro = the popped grains of rice and maize;
(d) sergi dạrluṅ ≐ 'golden dạrluṅ' = the strips of cloth on the pa:sam branches (dạrluṅ < Tib. dar, 'silk', 'flag', + rluṅ, lit. 'wind');
(e) mạrgu caṅmai tormo = 'tormo of fresh butter';
(f) sergi gọṅa karbo = 'golden white egg';
(g) ladar-dụndal = the coins of three pice (cf. text 2,9);
(h) gyábmi-gyábḍol = the pieces of plain cloth on three sides of the platform (gyábḍol ? < Tib. rgyab-yol, 'back-piece [of a ceremonial throne]', cf. Snellgrove 1967: 283; cf. also gyab-dmar in Tucci 1970: 139); and
(i) dụcce = the beer. The beer-offering consists of the juice (with little or no mash) of the beer and is called dụcce, instead of chyaṅbu, as in text 1,9 and 18. The word dụcce derives from Tib. bdud-rci, 'ambrosia','amr̥ta', and this adoption of the Lamaistic terminology seems to be meant honorifically; it indicates that this part of the ceremony is addressed to a la.

This is followed by the usual bid for the protection (rạwa) and thriving (phelba) of the cattle; the sentence pattern is the same as in text 2,5-7. The invocation of Cengi Gyálbo is concluded by his "dismissal" (syạ: solo) in that the rịrap is repeated a third time.

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* Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo is one of the names of the clan god of the Mạmba clan, cf. text 5, introduction.

The performer now turns to the thoyer of the dụd, sprinkles water on to the head of the cock in order to purify it and to make it shake as a token of Rẹdo Dụdgi Gyálbo's readiness to accept it as a sacrifice.

2.

hạ:y Rẹdo Dụdgi Gyálbo!,
Mầṅsyir Pùr͠ne bạrdoi khari jyạbu sali chyop̱pa phuljyi, chyoppa taṅjyi,
laṅjyen nórbuda rạwa sẹṅo, rạwa kedo!,
brá:la ḍọna cima cu:go, chyula ḍọna samba cu:go, bẹ:bi laṅḍu ḍọlpino!

hạ:y, Rẹdo Dụdgi Gyálbo!,
within the period of Maṅgsir Purne, (I) have offered the sacrifice, have
given the sacrifice of a cock,
protect, protect the precious cattle!,
when walking on the steep slope, provide steps (hewn on the slope),
when walking in (across) the water, provide a bridge, extricate
the snarling creeper!

NOTES:

- Dụdgi Gyálbo, 'king of the dụd(s)'.
- taṅjyi < OT taṅba < Tib. gtoṅ-ba, 'to give'.
- brá:la ḍọna (OT) < Tib. brag-la 'gro-na, 'when walking in the rocks'; MT brá:, 'steep slope'.
- chyula (OT) < Tib. ćhu-la, 'in/to the water/river'.
- bẹ:b(a)i, cf. bẹ:bi yùṅ in text 1,3.
- samba (OT) < Tib. zam-pa, 'bridge'.
- ḍọlpino, an absolutive as tempino in text 1,2, < ḍọlba < Tib. 'grol-ba, 'to loose', 'to untie'.

This is to be repeated until the cock shakes its body. After having been slaughtered, the animal is disposed of as follows: (a) A piece of the skin from the neck, with the feathers on it, is laid over the "forehead" of the thoyer-stone. (b) The head is deposited on a layer of unhusked rice strewn on to the banana-leaf in front of the thoyer. (c) The syabut, the "flesh-share", consists of pieces of the liver, lungs, as well as a rib and the tip of the wings — all skewered and roasted on a stick which is finally propped against the thoyer-stone.

When this is finished, the incense on the syiṅne nargu is lit again, and the performer recites:

3.

hạ:y Rẹdo Dụdgi Gyálbo!,
nèybed caṅma cu:jyi,
laṅjyen nórbu, yạ:jyen nórbu, rạbu karboda rạwa sẹṅo, rạwa kedo!,
lọ bạrdo sòmgi chamjo sẹṅo!,
nẹd syoṅla, rịn syoṅla — pharasya:go!,
gọde nạṅri gyạdeṅ.toṅ phelo!

hạ:y, Rẹdo Dụdgi Gyálbo!,
(I) have prepared pure sacrificial food,
protect, protect the precious cattle, the precious yak, the white goat!,
bind (the dangers) for a period of three years!,
illness may do harm, epidemics may do harm — remove them!,
may (the animals) thrive by the millions in the cattleshed!

NOTES:

- nèybed < N. naibed/naibedya, 'sacrificial share of the divinity', here with reference to that part of the offerings that is eaten on the spot, cf. below.
- lọ bạrdo sòmgi, lit. 'year period of-three'; in reality, the ceremony can be performed every year.

Finally, the performer washes his hands in order to remove the blood before he touches the platform of the cen, that is, before he takes the three eggs out of the forked branches behind the platform. He breaks open the eggs and examines them: The size and stage of growth of the embryos in them is an omen for the thriving and well-being of one's domestic animals in that a "big" embryo stands for the cattle, a "middle-sized" one for the sheep and a "small" one for the goats. Red stains on the yolk are a bad omen.

The eggs and the popped grains from the platform are mixed together, fried in the butter of the tormo (cf. above) and eaten on the spot, whereas the flesh of the cock is taken home.

Conspicuously, the dụd is not dismissed and re-escorted to Kharso Brá:. One may also notice the strict distinction between the cen as a vegetarian and the dụd as a carnivorous divinity.

TEXT 4

TEXT 4
THE HUNTING CEREMONY

Hunting no longer plays the important rôle it seems to have played in former times when the area abounded in forests. The ancestors of the Wàiba clan in particular are said to have been passionate huntsmen and warriors. Nowadays, hunting is done without dogs, and instead of bows and arrows (myàdali), locally manufactured guns are used. Some of the animals mentioned in the text below are now extinct or they are reminiscent of a time when the ancestors of the Tamang of the fieldwork area lived higher up in the mountains. How rare game has become is best illustrated by the fact that in order to provide an opportunity for me to observe the ceremony, a domestic cock had to be carried to the forest and killed there as a surrogate of wildfowl. In our days, the main animals hunted are deer, various kinds of pheasant, doves and a number of small birds. Leopards are still in evidence, but one prefers to poison them as this method is far less dangerous.

The ceremony described below is seldom performed to its full extent because very few people know its text. Hardly anybody recites over wildfowl, whereas deer always necessitate a certain minimum of rites.

The recitation is addressed to four groups of divinities, namely to

- the Ḍạkpo, with various names,
- the Ḍạbla, with various names and associated with the syịbdas,
- Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya (the four orphans, cf. text 1), and
- "Nepalese" divinities invoked in Nepali and in separate sections which seem to be of more recent date, inserted into the Tamang text; these divinities do not receive any offerings except for the incense.

The "three Hunting Ḍạkpo" (Kirba Ḍạkpo sòm) were identified as Kirba, Syauri and Ma:bon Chyembo by one informant. Possibly, they are a sort of manifestations of one single Ḍạkpo which is also known as Sikāri Bhut (N. 'Hunter Spirit') alias Syauri Máṅ ('Meteor Máṅ') alias Gạṅgi Máṅ ('the Máṅ of the Mountain'). Ḍạkpo corresponds to what is known in European folk-lore as the "wild hunter". He roams about at night, and you can hear him whistling "hui:, hui:!" and the rattles tinkling on his dogs' necks. Shooting stars or meteors are his arrows, and he can, against a sacrifice, be obliged to act as a guardian of the cultivated fields.

As we have already seen, Ḍạkpo is worshipped together with another "wild hunter", namely Paca Bhaiyā (cf. p. 21). His connection with hunting is also illustrated by a particular rite of the Wàiba clan:

Members of the Wàiba clan identify Ḍạkpo with Oṅbo Nạkpo, a deified ancestor and/ or tutelary (not clan god!) of one of their local segments. They call such tutelaries ma: and relate that different subgroups of their clan have different ma:s. If my derivation of ma: from Tib. dmag, 'army', 'host', is correct, we have an indication to the effect that Ḍạkpo was formerly represented as a gaṇapati, like Śiva-Mahādẹw in Hinduism, i.e., as a "commander" of hosts of demons. The above-mentioned Ma:bon Chyembo (< Tib. dmag-dpon ćhen-po, lit. 'great commander') seems to confirm this view.

Every year, the Wàiba inhabitants of the village of Gairā perform on the Dasami day of the Dasāĩ festival a ceremonial arrow-shooting connected with a mock-hunting, the latter being called ma: 1ó:ba (cf. text 3,1 and text 5,7), 'to cause to return the ma:'. Both are said to honour Oṅbo Nạkpo.

At about 11 a.m., all adult men gather in front of the house of the chief mukhiyā of the village, who is also the guardian of an old bow. The target is a circle of about 5 cm wide and drawn with chalk on a wooden plank. The circle is called "vulva" (pisya) and the shooting itself "fucking" (byába). The men indulge in using an obscene language, and by-standing women are not spared from being approached with words which would otherwise be regarded as extremely abusive. The arrow-shooting must not stop until the target has been hit at least three times — which is not that easy due to the technically rather poor state of the bow.

The mock-hunting is staged nearby. A large gourd is allowed to roll down a slope, and one of the men follows it with the bow. When he hits the gourd, which stands for a deer, a dog must be made bite the "prey".

Another divinity invoked in our text is Ḍabla with his various manifestations and/ or epitheta. The word ḍabla derives from Tib. dgra-lha or sgra-lha (cf. Snellgrove 1967: 258), often rendered by 'enemy-god'. In Tibetan belief, the dgra-lhas reside in one's right shoulder and protect against enemies; later, various dgra-lhas have been adopted as protectors of Lamaism (cf. p. 14 f.). In Tibetan folk-religion these divinities are also known as "dieux-guerriers des montagnes", i.e., warrior-gods of the mountains (Stein 1959: 95, 284, 312), — and in this they closely resemble the ḍablas of Tamang belief.

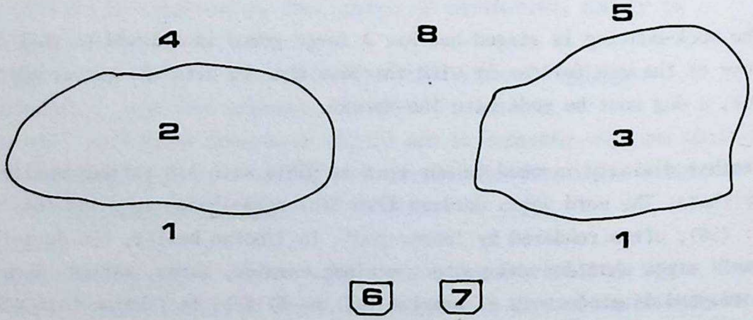
Ḍabla and Ḍạkpo have many features in common, and one informant did not hesitate to go as far as to surmise that "they are one and the same divinity" because of their fierce nature and association with hunting.

Ḍabla Ma:bon Chyembo is said to be a common address for all manifestations of Ḍabla, wherein Ma:bon Chyembo is identical with the name of one of the Ḍạkpo divinities mentioned above. Nine manifestations of Ḍạbla could be identified by name: Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo, who is also the clan god of the Mạmba clan, Ma:jen, Gốrla, Syạṅla, Kirba, Cenjen, Hịsye, Ṅòsye and Chyem Ṭàsyi, but this list is not fully identical with the names in the recitation below.

Probably because a hunting party is regarded as a disturbance of nature, the syịbda as "master of the area" occupies an important position in the ceremony. Conspicuously, however, we find the syịbda, in the present ritual, being intimately linked with Ḍạbla. Not only are they mentioned side by side, but the text reveals also that they have a common place of birth (keba), namely Kalliri (cf. p. 13 and text 1,19). Informants also pointed out the anomaly in that the syịbda, on this particular occasion, shares in the blood sacrifice with Ḍạbla, even though the syịbda is otherwise classified as vegetarian. I assume that the blood sacrifice is not addressed to the syịbda, but to the nè:da, who is carnivorous. Notice that, contrary to text 1 where only the syịbda is invoked, here both the syịbda and the nè:da are mentioned (sections 1, 16 and 17).

* * * *

Before starting a hunt, the hunter chooses a glade in the forest and deposits the offerings in the following order:



1 = two flat natural stones on which phemar and incense are burnt.

2 = phemar, a mixture of butter and maize flour, which is kept smouldering during the whole ceremony.

3 = a few twigs of the Juniperus tree (syukpa), likewise kept smouldering as an incense.

4 = a bốrjo syìṅ with a raw egg inserted in the forks; the egg is provided with a flake of fresh butter (kharkyen/karkyen, s. text 1,9) as a mark of consecration and will be used for the divination at the end of the ceremony.

5 = another bórjo syìṅ with some popped paddy (po:bo-phoro) in a leaf-cup as an offering to the syịbda.

6 = a leaf-cup containing sergi mone (husked raw rice) which the hunter will throw in small portions towards the two stones during the first part of the recitation (sections 1-15).

7 = a leaf-cup with syịne-syịmrol, that is a mixture of paddy, maize and millet as a "bedding" for another egg with a flake of fresh butter on it; this leaf-cup is an offering to Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya, even though first offered to the syịbda in section 7.

8 = the gun is leant against a nearby tree and bears a flake of fresh butter on its muzzle; the hunter also strews some vermilion powder (sindur, N.) on to the barrel.

While reciting, the performer sits bare-headed in front of the offerings.

1.

dhup le(u), Paramessora!,
Ḍhokā Rājā, Ḍhokā Rāni, Nau Durgā Bhawāni, mulukko dhani, jimidāri,
tapāīsita sikār mā̃geko cha (chaũ), Paramessora,
sikār bheṭ(ā)ideu, Paramessora,
Kalliri Bhume Paramessora, Ḍhokā Rājā, Ḍhokā Rāni,
tapāīko ās gareko cha (chaũ), tapāīko bhar mā̃geko cha (chaũ),
Paramessora, bhar ṭekideu!

Take the incense, Parameswar!,
Ḍhokā Rājā, Ḍhokā Rāni, Nau Durgā Bhawāni, owner, lord of the country,
(we) ask you for game, Parameswar,
let the game be got, Parameswar,
Kalliri Bhume Parameswar, Ḍhokā Rājā, Ḍhokā Rāni,
(our) hope is in you, (we) ask for your support,
Parameswar, confirm the confidence!

NOTES:

- Paramessora < Skt. parameśvara, N. parameswar, 'God'.
- Ḍhokā Rājā, Ḍhokā Rāni, lit. 'door king', 'door queen', with reference to the divinities behind the *gates*, that is, within the palace compounds of the Kāṭhmāṇḍu

Valley?

- Nau Durgā Bhawāni < Navadurgā = the nine manifestations of the goddess Durgā; Bhawāni is one of the names of Durgā/Pārvatī. On the local identity of Nau Durgā in Bhaktapur cf. Gutschow 1979: 59.
- jimidāri = most probably mispronounced for jamindār/jimindār, 'landlord'.
- cha, read: chaũ. The Nepali spoken by the Tamang does not distinguish between the 1st and 3rd person (sing. and plural) of a verb.
- Kalliri Bhume is said to be the "Nepali name" of the syịbda. Bhume < N. bhume, 'belonging to the soil', + Kalliri/Jhārkalleri, cf. above p. 13.

2.

ghumi-ghumilyāu, Paramessora, cār killā ghumāilyāu!,
ghoral bhaepani, mirga bhaepani, bāgh bhaepani, bheṭ(ā)ideu, Paramessora!,
tapāĩko bhar paryo (paryaũ), Paramessora,
tapāĩsita sikār mãgeko cha (chaũ),
Ḍhokā Rājā, Ḍhokā Rāni, Nau Durgā Bhawāni,
hāmi sikāri ho (haũ), Paramessora!

Go around, go around and bring, Parameswar, cause to return and bring
(the game) across the four boundaries!,
be it a ghoral, be it a deer, be it a leopard, let it be got, Parameswar!,
(we) have confidence in you, Parameswar,
(we) ask you for game,
Ḍhokā Rājā, Ḍhokā Rāni, Nau Durgā Bhawāni,
we are hunters, Parameswar!

NOTES:

- cār killā, lit. 'four boundaries (of a square)', here with reference to the four corners and implying that the game should be brought from all directions. The expression "cār killā bãdhnu", lit. 'to bind the four boundaries', means 'to draw a magic line of protection around something or somebody'.

3.

hạ:y, họmo, họmo, Mème Kirba Ḍạbla [*recte:* yụlgi syịbda?],

ṭhuṅbam gyạgar mendụ kùri ṭhuṅba,
kebam Kalliri pe:ma nạṅri keba,
dịṅbam Syàranjo nạṅri dịṅba,
sa ni bụrdo sòm nạṅri chya:ba,
dóṅbo chyembo ne:ba,
dọ ni cha:jo ne:bi yụlgi syịbda-nè:da,
Nè:da:mo, Tirda:mo, La ni Wàṅbo, La Dẹbge, La Kundu Sạṅbo,
sergi mone chya:deṅ ṅạri phuljyi, syụbi syụ:den cu:jyi, ó!

hạ:ỵ, họmo, họmo (=?), Grandfather Kirba Ḍabla [recte: *syịbda of the area?*],
(who,) as to origin, originated in India's nine wombs (?),
as to birth, was born in the lotus of Kalliri,
as to soaring, (is) soaring in Syàranjo,
(who) resides in the three hillocks,
dwells in the great tree,
the syịbda-nè:da of the area, who dwells in the rocky place,
Nè:da:mo, Tirda:mo, La Wàṅbo, La Dẹbge, La Kundu Sạṅbo,
(I) have offered pure golden rice with (my) hand, have prepared a "throne of request", look!

NOTES:

- họmo = ?. According to SB, OT họmo < N. hom < Skt. homa; this word also exists in Tibetan, ho-ma, 'burnt offering' (Jäschke 1949: 597), or 'offering of burnt butter' (Hermanns 1956: 74, 183 and Jest 1974: 120). Here with reference to the incense or the smouldering phemar (which contains butter)?
- Kirba Ḍabla is a flaw, according to SB; cf. also introduction to section 11. Kirba < MT kirba < Tib. khyir-ra, 'hunting'.
- sa ni bụrdo sòm < sa.bụrdo sòm, 'three hillocks', + the OT isolating particle ni (MT mi) dissecting a compound word and in such a position rather unusual. The same is true of "dọ ni cha:jo" and "La ni Wàṅbo" below. Probably, ni has a deictic function, and "sa ni bụrdo sòm" is a contraction of "sa ni sa.bụrdo sòm", that is,'as to the earth, three hillocks'. By contrast, ni in La ni Wàṅbo is a padding. Cf. also text 1,19.
- syụb(a)i syụ:den ? < Tib. *źu-ba'i bźugs-gdan < źu-ba (OT syụba), 'to request', + bźugs-gdan, 'seat composed of cushions' (Jäschke 1949: 265). The "throne of request" is the set of offerings in which the divinities are requested to take their abode, as it seems.
- Nè:da:mo, etc., cf. text 1,19.

4.

Kirba Ḍạkpo sòmda, Mème Kirba Ḍạkpo sòmda le:dap soṅba, saṅrap seṅbai deso naṅri,
Mème Ḍạbla, Hịsye Ḍạbla, Ṅòsye Ḍạbla, Mème Kirba Ḍạbla, Họma Ḍạbla, Syabut Ḍạbla, Ṭha:but Ḍạbla, Mème Kirba Ḍạkpo sòm, Mème sòmdam yaṅgarmo, jyógarmo syụbi syụ:den cu:bi khari, yaṅgarmo, jyógarmo syụbi syụ:den cu:bi deso naṅri,
rịgai nạ:luṅ naṅri ḍọla kuinam,
pha:jyen ṅármo syụla kuiba, dọmjyen ṅármo syụla kuiba, sị:jyen ṅármo syụla kuiba, dọmjyen ṅármo syụla kuibi deso naṅri,
ṭugu nạkpoi khari dẹrku:syi naṅo, ó!

(While) asking the three Kirba Ḍạkpo, the three Grandfather Kirba Ḍạkpo for support, while performing (their) incense-recitation,
while preparing to Grandfather Ḍạbla, Hịsye Ḍạbla, Ṅòsye Ḍạbla, Grandfather Kirba Ḍạbla, Họma Ḍạbla, Syabut Ḍạbla, Ṭha:but Ḍạbla, the three Kirba Ḍạkpo, the three Grandfather (Kirba Ḍạkpo) a "throne of request" for a roebuck (?), for a doe (?), while preparing a "throne of request" for a roebuck (?), for a doe (?),
while walking in the jungle,
while requesting (of you) a ferocious wild-boar, requesting a ferocious bear, requesting a ferocious cat-bear (?), requesting a ferocious bear,
give (me these animals) by driving them into (in front of) the muzzle of the gun, please!

NOTES:

- "while..." refers here to the particular, sacred span of time of the duration of the ceremony which is to be continued after a successful hunt.
- Hịsye < Tib. ye-śes, 'absolute knowledge', 'sublime wisdom' (Skt. jñāna).
- Ṅòsye < Tib. ṅo-śes, 'friend','acquaintance', hence MT ṅòsye:ba, 'to be acquainted with'; cf. also section 10 where hịsye and ṅòsye seem to mean two types of knowledge.
- Họma ? < homa, cf. họmo in section 3.
- Syabut, Ṭha:but < syabut, lit. 'share of meat', + ṭha:but, lit. 'share of blood'.

- yaṅgarmo/yaṅgara (OT) ? < Tib. *gyag ṅar-po, 'ferocious yak', with reference to the wild yak? Cf. ṅármo in connection with other animals below. Here I follow SB's tentative rendering by 'roebuck'.
- jyógarmo/jógarmo ? < Tib. mjo + OT ṅármo. Tib. mjo also occurs in mjo-rgod, 'wild cattle' (Jäschke 1949: 463). OT jyógarmo < Tib. mjo-'gar-mo, '(female) cross-breed of dzo', is improbable.
- rịgai nạ:luṅ = rịna:luṅ (cf. text 2,3), OT.
- pha:jyen (OT) < Tib. phag, 'pig', 'hog', + ? ćhen(-po), 'great', 'precious'.
- sị:jyen (OT), sị:- ? < Tib. gzig, 'leopard'. According to SB, this animal does not live in the fieldwork area and is identical with what is called niṅāle bāgh or cituwā in Nepali. In Turner's (1965: 175, 144) dictionary: niṅāle = 1. niṅāle cituwā = leopard cat, and 2. = cat-bear. To my knowledge, the former lives in tropical areas, but not in higher altitudes.
- syụla kuiba < OT syụba, 'to request', + kuiba, cf. text 1,23.
- ṭugu nạkpo/ṭulgu nạkpo (OT), 'gun'; ṭu(l)gu ? < Tib. sprul-sku. lit. 'emanation', 'incarnate lama', here as a euphemism for a device that works wonders? nạkpo ? < Tib. nag-pa/nag-po, 'black' (of the colour of the iron?). Cf. also cya:gi bịja for 'gun', 'rifle', in text 2,3.
- khari, here 'in(to) the mouth/muzzle'.
- dẹrku:syi nạṅo, ó < OT dẹrku:ba/dẹr.kù:ba, 'to drive back by chasing from behind', + imp. of MT nạṅba (hon.), 'to give', + ó, an interjection stressing a command or question. OT kù:ba = MT khu:ba < Tib. 'gugs-pa, 'to bend', 'to gather', 'to cause to return'.

5.

yụlgi syịbda ñiṅgi dạ:bo, chya:.jạlo!,
sergi mone chya:deṅ ṅạri phuljyi,
syụbi syụ:den cu:bi dẹso nạṅri, Cautārā yạryar p̣hola ne:bi yụlgi syịbda
   ñiṅbai syạlḍi phulbi syụbi syụ:den cu:jyi, ó!
Mème Kirba Ḍạkpo sòmda le:dap gạmo cu:bi dẹso nạṅri sergi mone chya:deṅ
   ṅạri phuljyi.

syịbda of the area, dear Lord, Hail!,
(I) have offered pure golden rice with (my) hand;
while preparing a "throne of request", (I) have prepared, look!, a "throne of
   request" offered to the dear syịbda of the area, who dwells everywhere
   in the upper part of Cautārā;
to the three Grandfather Hunting Ḍạkpo, while asking for an effective

support, (I) have offered pure golden rice with (my) hand.

6.

ñim mi kirba mịrgu.má:jye gyábna lị:jye khurna, ṅònna chya:jye teṅna,
ṭulgu nạkpoi khari syụbi syụ:den cu:bi dẹso nạṅri,
kulma.dịri kulma cya:bi le:dap syụbi syụ:den, prùṅma.dịri calma cya:bi
le:dạp syụbi syụ:den cu:bi dẹso nạṅri sergi mone chya:deṅ ṅạri
phuljyi.

We, the hunters, while, at the back, carrying (you) on (our) backs,
while, at the front, tossing (you) with (our) hands,
while preparing a "throne of request" for the (efficiency of the) guṇ,
while preparing a "throne of request" for (your) support so that
when sending the magic arrow, (the enemy) may be watched while
sending the magic arrow, for (your) support so that when releasing
(the arrow, the enemy) may be watched while spotting (the target),
(we) have offered pure golden rice with (our) hands.

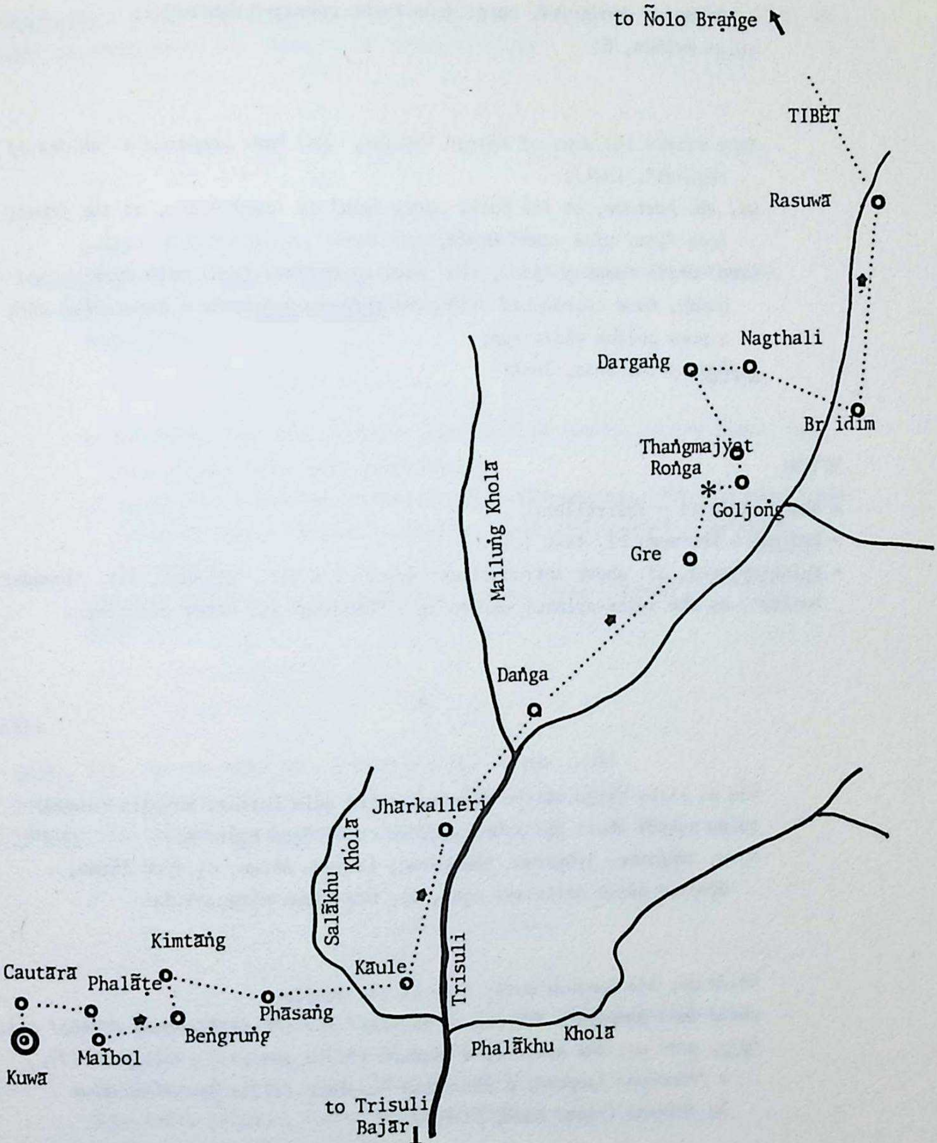
NOTES:

- mịrgu.má:jye < OT mịrgu/mẹrgu < Tib. mi-dgu, lit. 'nine men', dgu meaning also 'many' as in Tib. skye-dgu/skye-rgu, 'men', 'mankind' (Jäschke 1949: 28 f., 84); + MT plural suffix -má: + MT agentive suffix -jye.
- gyábna... teṅna, cf. text 1,19.
- kulma.dịri...calma cya:bi, cf. text 1,14.

This is followed by the rịrap of the syịbda, starting from Kuwā, the place where this part of the ceremony is taking place (s. next page). When "reaching" Kalliri, the birth place of the syịbda, the recitation goes on as follows:

7.

Khargi Kalliri khorgaṅ nạṅjye syụbi syụ:den cu:jyi, ó!,
ñim mi kirba mịrgu.má:jye gyábna lị:jye khurba, ṅònna chya:jye teṅba,
teṅbai dẹso nạṅri mi po:bo-phoro caṅmajye dẹndarjyi, syịne-syịmrol


to Ñolo Braṅge
TIBET
Rasuwā
Nagthali
Dargaṅ
Bridim
Thaṅmajyāt
Roṅga
Goljoṅ
Gre
Mailuṅ Kholā
Daṅga
Jhārkalleri
Salākhu Kholā
Kimtāṅ
Cautārā
Phalā̃ṭe
Kāule
Phāsaṅ
Beṅgruṅ
Maībol
Kuwā
Trisuli
Phalākhu Kholā
to Trisuli Bajār

Approximate itinerary followed in the *ririp* of the *syibda* and Ḍabla

(approx. scale: 1 inch = 4 miles)

caṅmajye dẹndarjyi, sergi gọṅa karbo caṅmajye dẹndarjyi,
yụlgi syịbda, ó!

From within the area of Khargi Kalliri, (we) have prepared a "throne of request", look!,
we, the hunters, at the back, carry (you) on (our) backs, at the front, toss (you) with (our) hands,
(and) while tossing (you), (we) have approached (you) with pure popped paddy, have approached with pure syịne-syịmrol, have approached with a pure golden white egg,
syịbda of the area, look!

NOTES:

- Khargi Kalliri = Jhārkalleri.
- khorgaṅ = khorsom, cf. text 1,12.
- syịne-syịmrol, cf. above introduction; syịne- ? < Tib. *gźi-nas, lit. 'foundation-barley', as the syịne-syịmrol serves as a "bedding" for other offerings.

8.

ñim mi kirba mịrgu.má:jye rịna:luṅ nạṅri ḍọla kuimam, khyugla kuimam,
ṭulgu nạkpoi khari gạ: syu̯bi syu̯:den cu:bi dẹso nạṅri mi,
hạ:y, yaṅgarmo, jyógarmo, khasyormo, ta:jyen ṅármo, sị:jyen ṅármo,
dọmjyen ṅármo dẹrku:syi nạṅo, ó!, ñim kirba mịrgu.má:da!

While we, the hunters walk, roam in the jungle,
while (we) prepare a "throne of request" for the (efficiency of the) gun,
hạ:y, give us, the hunters, a roebuck (?), a doe (?), a wildfowl (?), a ferocious leopard, a ferocious cat-bear (?), a ferocious bear by driving (them) back, please!

NOTES:

- gạ: is a padding here.
- khyugla < OT khyugpa < Tib. rgyug-pa, 'to run', 'to circulate'.
- ḍọla < OT ḍọba, cf. text 1,2.

- khasyormo ? < Tib. kha-źur, 'water-hen' (Jäschke 1949: 37). In another text, we have khaisyur which was rendered by 'various birds'.

9.

gyábna lị:jye khurjyi, ṅònna chya:jye teṅjyi,
gyạgi tènsam gyạgi chyoppa cu:la, toṅgi tènsam toṅgi chyoppa cu:la,
ser.mạṇḍal kùri sergi mone [phuljyi],
chya:.jạlo!

At the back, (we) have carried (you) on (our) backs, at the front, (we) have tossed (you) with (our) hands,
if (you) give a hundred (animals), (we) will prepare a hundred sacrifices, if (you) give a thousand (animals), (we) will prepare a thousand sacrifices,
(we have offered) pure golden rice in nine "rice-circles",
Hail!

NOTES:

- gyạgi, lit. 'of one hundred', < OT gyạ < Tib. brgya, '100'.
- toṅgi, lit. 'of one thousand', < OT toṅ < Tib. stoṅ, '1000'.
- tènsam, lit.'if put', < OT temba, 'to put', 'to give', 'to keep'.

10.

ñim kirba mịrgu.má:da brá:gai cima, chyugai camba [cu:go!],
bẹ:bi yùṅ sya:pino, jọlbi yùṅ sya:pino!,
nẹggi khanuṅ[.jẹdo], rịngi khanuṅ[.jẹdo]!,
ḍọna kaṅro salpino, thoṅna mị:ro salpino!,
hịsye thoṅpino, ṅòsye thoṅpino!,
le:dap sọṅjyi,
chya:.jạlo!

For us, the hunters, (provide) steps on the steep slope, a bridge over the water!,

remove the stone which causes (us) to stumble, remove the stone which
causes (us) to make a mistake!,
close the mouth of illness, close the mouth of epidemics!,
when walking, clear the (track of the) feet, when seeing, clear the
(sight of the) eyes!
make the mystical wisdom perceptible, make the mystical knowledge
perceptible!,
(we) have asked for support,
Hail!

NOTES:

- kaṅro < MT kaṅ, 'foot', + -ro < ?.
- mị:ro < MT mì:, 'eye'.
- hịsye, ṅ̀dsye, cf. above section 4, where these words figure as the names of the various Ḍạbla divinities. hịsye and ṅ̀dsye also occur in the bọmbo's texts and refer to his clairvoyance in connection with an oracle or divination. Here, the "mystical wisdom" and "mystical knowledge" obviously allude to the results of the egg-divination.
- thoṅna (OT) < Tib. mthoṅ-na, 'when seeing'.
- sya:pino (< sya:ba), salpino (< salba), thoṅpino are absolutives with the imp. of MT pimba, implying that the result of the action should be for the benefit of somebody (cf. text 1,2: tempino).

The following part is addressed to Ḍạbla. His rịrap is "patched into" the rịrap of the syịbda in such a way that it starts from Kuwā and ends in Ñolo Brạnge in Tibet. Actually, it would have been sufficient, I was told, to start Ḍạbla's rịrap in Kalleri, that is, in the place where the rịrap of the syịbda ends. Be that as it may, according to the next section of our text, both Ḍạbla and the syịbda hail from Kalleri (Jhārkalleri); only his place of "residence" (chya:ba) distinguishes the former from the latter.

11.

hạ:y, ṭhuṅbam gyạgar menḍu kùri ṭhuṅba,
kebam Kalliri pe:ma nạṅri keba,
chya:ba mi Ñolo Brạṅge nạṅri [chya:ba],
dịṅba mi rèkki lumbu nạṅri dịṅnem.

hạ:y, as to origin, originated in India's nine wombs (?),
as to birth, born in the lotus of Kalliri,
as to residence, residing in Ñolo Brạṅge,
as to soaring, (he) soared iṅ (over) the whole world.

NOTES:

- dịṅnem = past perfect of dịṅba, cf. text 1,19.
- Ñolo Brạṅge is said to be a place somewhere in South Tibet.

The subsequent enumeration of place names in Ḍạbla's rịrap is interspersed with the same requests as those addressed to the syịbda. The enumeration starts with the invocation:

12.

họmo, họmo, Hịsye Ḍạbla, Ṅòsye Ḍạbla, Mème Ḍạbla, Mème Kirba Ḍạbla,
Syabut Ḍạbla, Ṭha:but Ḍạbla!,
Ḍạbla Chyemboi khari syụbi syụ:den cu:jyi, ó!, Mème Ḍạbla,
syẹndoi khale syụba mạyin, syẹndoi thu:le ḍẹmba mạyin, Mème Ḍạbla!

họmo, họmo (=?), Hịsye Ḍạbla, Ṅòsye Ḍạbla, Grandfather Ḍạbla, Grandfather Kirba Ḍạbla, Syabut Ḍạbla, Ṭha:but Ḍạbla!,
to the Great Ḍạbla, (I) have prepared a "throne of request", look!, Grandfather Ḍạbla,
(you) are not requested through anybody else's mouth, are not invited by anybody else's mind, Grandfather Ḍạbla!

NOTES:

- syẹndoi khale < OT syẹndo ? < Tib. gźan-dag, 'the others' (gźan-pa, 'other'), + < Tib. kha-las, lit. 'from the mouth'. Meaning: "you are not requested by anybody else but by myself".
- thu:le (OT) < Tib. thugs-las, lit. 'from the mind'.
- ḍẹmba (OT) < Tib. 'dren-pa, 'to invite'. In this context at least, ḍẹmba < Tib. dran-pa, 'to remember', is also possible, but I follow the informants' interpretation.

After having "arrived" in Ñolo Braṅge, the hunter repeats sections 1 and 2 in such a way that the verb "bheṭ(ā)ideu" is replaced by "goli lāgideu!", i.e., "give that the bullet hit!". He then continues in Nepali:

13.

Dolakhā Bhimsiṅ (Bhimsen), Siwakannyā Mahādew, Buṛhā Rājā, Buṛhā (Buṛhi?) Rāni, Bhima Rājā, Bhima Rāni,
sikār mā̃gyo (mā̃gyaū̃), hāmi sikāri ho (haū̃), Paramessora!,
banmā hīṛdākheri sikāri (sikār) bheṭ(ā)ideu!,
hā̃dākheri sisako goli ṭhaganmā (ṭhekānmā) lagāideu!,
sikār cār caurāsi bāṭo ghumi-ghumilyāu, Paramessora!,
ākās bān ākāsai pherideu (phirāideu), pattāl bān pattālai pherideu (phirāideu)!,
cār killā [bhitra] boksiko bān, ḍāine-boksiko bān pherideu (phirāideu)!

Dolakhā Bhimsen, Siwakannyā Mahādew, Buṛhā Rājā, Buṛhā Rāni, Bhima Rājā, Bhima Rāni,
(we) ask for game, we are hunters, Parameswar!,
while walking in the forest, let the game be got!,
while shooting, make the lead-bullet hit the target!,
go around, go around and bring the game over four (times?) eighty-four paths, Parameswar!,
return the "sky-arrow" to the sky itself, return the "earth-arrow" to the earth itself!,
[within] the four boundaries, return the magic arrow of the witch, the magic arrow of the sorceress-witch!

NOTES:

- Dolakhā Bhimsiṅ, reference to the famous sanctuary of Bhimsen (Bhīmasena) at Dolakhā in eastern Central Nepal. Bhimsen is the god of trade and crafts.
- Siwakannyā < Śiva alias Mahādew + kannyā, 'virgin', here with reference to Śiva's female consort Kumāri, an aspect of Durgā?
- Buṛhā Rājā, lit. 'old king', Buṛhā (recte: Buṛhi) Rāni, lit. 'old queen'. Possibly identical with Buṛhā Subbā, a divinity particularly connected with hunting and having a well-known sanctuary in Tāplejuṅ, East Nepal.
- Bhima ? < Bhīma, 'a name of Rudra-Śiva' (Monier-Williams 1970: 758).

- thekān, lit. 'address (of the bullet)'.
- ākās bān ('sky-arrow') and pattāl bān ('underworld-/earth-arrow') are said to be identical with Tamang mu bạ:n (< mu, 'sky') and sa bạ:n (<sa, 'earth') respectively. They are both invisible — in contradistinction to the meteorite and flash (both being called tho) or the will-o'-the-wisp (me bạ:n). When somebody has been hit by the sa bạ:n, his body swells up enormously, I was told, and is covered with large blisters, the traces of which look like the scars of burns. The mu bạ:n causes no swelling, but the patient suffers from a strong burning sensation over his whole body, and the same cicatrisation appears on his skin. Both mu bạ:n and sa bạ:n are likely to strike humans outside the settlement, and this seems to account for their mention in a text connected with hunting.
- ḍāine-boksi, ḍāine seems to be used here as a synonym of boksi, cf. p. 20 f. Turner (1965: 257) gives for ḍāini 'witch'.
- the "magic arrow (bān) of the witch" refers here to a curse or evil eye.

The final section of what is to be recited *before* setting out for the hunt invokes Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya, the four orphans (s. text 1), for whom a leaf-package is tied to one of the trees behind the temporary cult place. The package contains what has been explained as item no. 7 in the introduction to our text.

14.

khe mẹ:me syí: Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsyȧ!,
rịna:luṅ nạṅri ḍọla kuina, khyugla kuina
gyụ daṅ phut mẹppi khari thùbaro caṅmajye dẹndarjyi, gọṅa karboi khari,
   syịne-syịmrolgi khari dẹndarjyi,
gyụ daṅ phut ḍụppai khari yaṅgarmo, jyógarmoi syala syabut, ṭha:la
   ṭha:but, luwa-bụwa, gyụma-gyụser, khei chyoppa cu:la.

You four siblings Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya!,
while walking, while roaming in the jungle —
in the event of missing (the game and thus) the gyụ and the phut,
   (I) have approached (you) with the pure censer, have approached (you)
   with the white egg, with syịne-syịmrol;
in the event of getting (the game and thus) the gyụ and the phut, (I)
   will prepare a share of meat from the meat, a share of blood from
   the blood, the luwa-bụwa, the gyụma-gyụser of the roebuck (?), of
   the doe (?), the wildfowl (?), your sacrifice.

NOTES:

- gyụ daṅ phut < gyụ < Tib. rgyu-ma, 'intestines', + phut < Tib. phud, 'a thing set apart', 'offering'; here with reference to the gyụma-gyụser and the nèybed (cf. below).
- gọṅa karboi khari, khari means here 'in the shape of' or 'by means of'; similarly in syịne-syịmrolgi khari.
- mẹpp(a)i < OT mẹppa, cf. text 1,17), here 'to fail (to get)'.
- ḍụppai < MT ḍụppa, 'to take out', 'to get'.
- luwa-bụwa, here with reference to the feathers or hairs on the sacrificial shares, cf. text 1,37.

15.

yedjye khu:syi nạṅo, yonjye khu:syi nạṅo!,
chyo:syi, lìṅsyi nạṅjye dẹrku:syi nạṅo,
khe mẹ:me syí: Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya!,
mịgai hòyhòy, mịgai dịrdir ló:pino!,
ḍọna kaṅro salpino, thoṅna mị:ro salpino!

Give (the game) by driving it from the right, give (the game) by driving it from the left!,
give (the game) by driving it back from the four corners, the four worlds,
you four siblings Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya!,
avert the conspicuousness through gossip, the disordered noises of gossip!,
when walking, clear the (track of the) feet, when seeing, clear the (sight of the) eyes!

NOTES:

- yedjye < OT yed, 'right', < Tib. gyas-pa, 'right'.
- yonjye < OT yon, 'left', < Tib. gyon, 'left'.
- khu:syi < MT khu:ba = OT kù:ba, 'to drive', 'to drive back'.

Should the hunt prove successful, the ceremony is continued at the spot where the game was shot. The animal is cut up, and the offerings are prepared as follows:

(1) The nèybed (cf. text 3,3) consists of two small sticks on to which are skewered a piece each of all internal organs (liver, heart, lungs, stomach, spleen, kidney or, in the case of a bird, crọp and gizzard) and a small strip of flesh cut from the back of the animal, one on the right and one on the left side of the backbone. The strips are called phaṅsya.

Both sticks must contain an equal portion of all items. One stick is for Ḍạbla, the other one for the syịbda, and the meat on them is roasted over a small fire. While invoking these divinities in turn (sections 16 and 17), the hunter pinches off bits of the meat with his nails and throws them in front of him. When the ceremony is over, the rest of the meat is pulled off and eaten by the hunter(s) on the spot as a prasād (N.), that is, as that part of the sacrifice which is impregnated with the boon of the divinities and shared with them in a sort of communion.

Along with the meat, the egg which was deposited in the bórjo syìṅ behind the left stone (no. 4, cf. above introduction), is fried and eaten. When it is broken and dropped into the pan, the yolk is observed. Blood stains on its surface — otherwise a bad omen — in this context indicate that the hunter will be successful in future, too. This egg is offered to the syịbda.

(2) The gyụma-gyụser (cf. text 1,37) consists of the following items: If the animal is a mammal (deer), it includes the eyes, ears, the tip of the nose, the hooves from both the fore and hind legs, and occasionally some blood. In the case of a fowl, the gyụma-gyụser includes the beak, larynx, crop, lungs, some blood, the tip of the wings and the feet. This is Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya's share and is simply thrown into the scrub while reciting section 18.

Interestingly, Ḍạkpo receives no separate share.

16.

hạ:y họmo, họmo, Mème Kirba Ḍạbla,
họmo, yụlgi syịbda, họmo,
yụlgi syịbda, chyodo, dọno, phulo,
yụlgi syịbda!

hạ:y, họmo, họmo (=?), Grandfather Kirba Ḍạbla,
họmo, syịbda of the area, họmo,
syịbda of the area, may (you) be given a sacrifice, may (you) be hosted,

may (you) be offered (a sacrifice),
syịbda of the area!

NOTES:

- chyodo, dọno, phulo!, the usual request to the divinities to partake of the offerings, < Tib. *mčhod-do, bton-no, phul-lo, meaning approximately 'it has been given, arranged, offered', and interpreted by the Tamang as a hortative phrase. Or dọno = a corruption of Tib. 'dod-do, lit. 'it is desired'?

The hunter repeats the kerap of the syịbda (section 3) and goes on:

17.

yaṅgarmo, jyógarmo, khasyormoi syala syabut, ṭha:la ṭha:but nomsyi
   chyodo, dọno, phulo, yụlgi syịbda-nè:da!,
gyạgi tènsam gyạgi chyoppa cu:la, toṅgi tènsam toṅgi chyoppa cu:la.

Take the share of meat from the meat, the share of blood from the blood,
   of the roebuck (?), the doe (?), the wildfowl (?), and may (you) be
   given a sacrifice, may (you) be hosted, may (you) be offered
   (a sacrifice), syịbda-nè:da of the area!,
if (you) give a hundred (animals), (we) will prepare a hundred
   sacrifices, if (you) give a thousand (animals), (we) will prepare
   a thousand sacrifices.

This is followed by Ḍạbla's rịrap taken up at Kalliri (where the syịbda's rịrap ended) and led up to Ñolo Brạṅge. After each place, the hunter recites the request "chyodo, dọno, phulo!". — Finally, Wọndeṅ-Wọṅsya are addressed again and summoned to take their share:

18.

ù syọso:, ù syọso:, Mịgama Chyembo, Yágama Chyembo!,

rịna:luṅ nạṅri ṅa càwa gyúppa, àyo gyúppajye ṭulgu nạkpoi khale
  khasyormo, jyógarmo khurla kuibi dẹso nạṅri gyábna lị:jye [khurjyi],
  ṅònna chya:jye teṅjyi,
khe mẹ:me syí: Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya!,
syala syabut, ṭha:la ṭha:but [nomsyi chyodo, dọno, phulo!],
ṭhukpa mạsuṅo, sụrdo-koloṅ mạjedo!,
ù syọtt!

ù syọso:, ù syọso:, Mịgama Chyembo, Yágama Chyembo!,
in the jungle, while hunting down through the muzzle of the gun
  the wildfowl (?), the doe (?), I who belong to a spiritual descent
  line (of lámbus), who has an inherited àyo, at the back, have
  [carried] (you) on my back, at the front, have tossed (you) with
  my hand,
you four siblings Wọṅdeṅ-Wọṅsya!,
[take] the share of meat from the meat, the share of blood from the
  blood [and may you be given a sacrifice, may you be hosted, may
  you be offered a sacrifice!],
do not be irritated, do not be jealous!,
ù syọtt!

NOTES:

- ṅa càwa gyúppa, àyo gyúppa, cf. text 1,8. Actually, the ceremony is performed by a lámbu.
- khurla kuibi < khurba, here 'to bag', 'to hunt down', cf. text 2,3.
- mạjedo (OT) < OT jẹppa ? < Tib. byed-pa, 'to make'.

TEXT 5

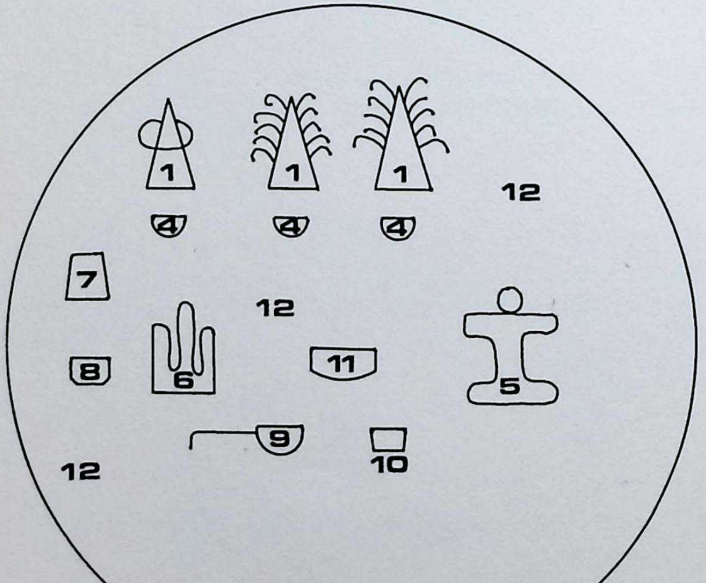
TEXT 5

THE CLAN GOD OF THE MẠMBA

The present recitation was recorded in the late morning of the 3rd December, 1971, on the full-moon day called Maṅgsir Purṇimā. The ceremony is repeated every year on the Jeṭh Purṇimā in the spring and is addressed to Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet alias Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Ḍạbla Ma:bon, the clan god of the clan Mạmba. On the meaning of the name Rạbujyet, no information was available; Jyạṅjyen may derive from T. *jyạṅ*, i.e., 'north' (on Ḍạbla cf. above text 4).

The association with the North is also evident in that the ceremony takes place in the corner of the ground floor of the house, opposite the entrance, a place which is "up" (*tor*) and ideally also north. During the recitation, the performer stands facing this ideal North, turning his back to the entrance associated with "down" and south (*mor* and *lo* respectively). When I asked the participants to take the offerings out of the house so that I could photograph them in the courtyard, I was told that it was not allowed, under any circumstances, "to carry the clan god down".

On the eve of the ceremony, the whole ground floor is plastered with a mixture of cow-dung and red clay in the Hindu manner, in order to purify the place. The "altar" is a bamboo-tray (T. *nàkhle*, N. *naṅlo*) placed on an ordinary conical basket (N. *thumse*) turned upside down. The arrangement of the offerings and ritual implements on the tray is as follows:



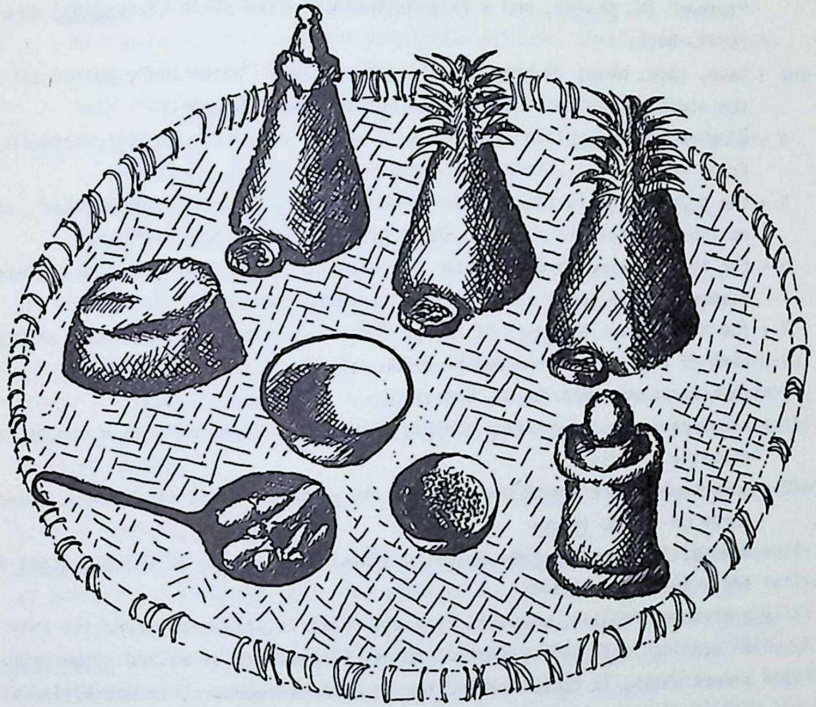


Fig. 2. The four main tormos (without the Chyo:la) with the beer, sergi mone and censer on the tray.

1 - 6 = figures made of rice-dough.

1 - 3 = three pyramid-like *tormos*, all three called Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo, with a flock of wool on their tops.

1 = this *tormo* has a ring of dough wound around its top, the ring being called "turban" (N. *pheṭā*), and a twig of the Artemisia plant (T. *cyènḍi*) stuck into its back.

2 and 3 have, each, about 20 *brọsyol*, conically shaped "tentacles", pasted all around the sides. (Ideally, there should be five on each side).

4 = dough-bowls (*kòsyo*) in front of 1, 2 and 3 containing *syạljye*, actually some fried egg.

5 = the *tormo* of Ḍạbla (sic!). Its round trunk has a protruding "collar", and on its top there is a "ball" which probably represents the head.

6 = the *tormo* called Chyo:la, with three erect finger-like parts on a round basement. This *tormo* will later be given to the raven, cf. section 11.

7 = the Nepali cap (N. *ṭopi*) of the performer who recites bare-headed as a gesture of reverence, a custom of Hindu origin.

8 = some incense bought in the bazaar.

9 = a censer with some glowing embers, a spherical iron pan with a handle, resembling a ladle.

10 = some husked rice (*sergi mone*) which the performer will from time to time throw on to the *tormos*.

11 = some millet-beer (*chejaṅ-dụcce*) in a bowl on the brim of which a flake of fresh butter is pasted.

12 = a mixture of maize, unhusked rice and wheat is strewn all over the tray as a "bedding" (*tissa*) for the offerings; the mixture is called *syịne-syịmrol*.

13 = a cock which, in contradistinction to other ceremonies, is not killed at the end of the ritual, but only reserved (cf. *syụppa* in text 1,22) for the divinity. That is to say, the cock which was reserved, say, on, or previously for the occasion of, Maṅgsir Purṇimā is not to be killed until a second one has been reserved at the next clan god ceremony on Jeṭh Purṇimā. The first cock can then be slaughtered and eaten at any time by the family. As the sacrificial act is its reservation, the profane slaughtering does not entail any preparation of a sacrificial share, such as the *nèybed* or the *gyuma-gyuser*.

1.

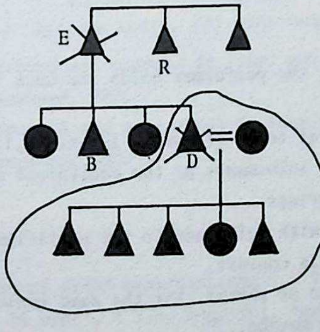
hạ:y chya:.jạlo, tembai la Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo!,
gyábnam cya:gi rạwa sọṅpino, ṅònnam sạṅgi rạwa sọṅpino,
gạyaṅ gạba tempino, che:yaṅ che:ba tempino,
khaṅsa nạṅḍi jyójyo dạ:bo ñiṅda, dạ:mo ñiṅda lai (lhai) lẹnchyamá:da
   rạwa jẹppino, ruńgur jẹppino,

khaṅsai rạwa sọṅo, syịṅsai rạwa sọṅo!,
hạ:y, tembai la, chya:.jạlo!

hạ:y, Hail Clan God Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo!,
At the back, give (us) the protection of iron, ahead, give (us) the
protection of copper,
keep (let not vanish) the happiness, keep the well-being,
in the homestead, protect and guard the brothers, the dear master,
the dear mistress (of the home), the youth,
protect the homestead, protect the fields,
hạ:y Clan God, Hail!

NOTES:

- cya:gi rạwa, sạṅgi rạwa < OT cya: < Tib. lćags, 'iron', + rạwa < Tib. ra-ba, 'fence', + sạṅgi < Tib. zaṅs, 'copper'. The original meaning is 'iron fence, copper fence', possibly with an allusion to the auspicious, protective qualities of these metals.
- sọṅpino < OT sọṅba = MT sẹṅba, 'to make', + imp. of pimba, 'to give'; an absolutive as tempino, cf. text 1,2.
- jyọjyo (OT) = MT ajyo, 'elder brother', here with reference to the recitor's elder brother (E) in whose house the ceremony is performed. Actually, the recitor (R) is the oldest resident male member of the lineage. The master (dạ:bo) of the house, D, fell as a Guṛkha soldier in the second Indo-Pakistan war. Although B, the elder brother of D, lives uxorilocally in another village, the two households have not separated as yet. Thus, it would have been B's duty to perform the ceremony.



- lai/lhai· lẹnchya < Tib. *lha'i lan-ćho, lit. 'god's youth', obviously a euphemism.
- jẹppino < OT jẹppa ? < Tib. byed-pa/mjad-pa, 'to make', + imp. of MT pimba; the verb jẹppimpa is identical with sọṅpimba in both construction and meaning.

- ruṅgur ? < Tib. sruṅ-bar (byed-pa), 'to watch'. Informants treated ruṅgur as an echo-word of rạwa(r), cf. rạwar-ruṅgur in sections 3 and 4.

2.

họ:, saṅsyu, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet (Rạmajyet)!,
khai ḍị:ma gạ:, camraṅ gạ:, mị:ja gạ: pho:bari gạ: saṅjyo,
   Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet,
lạ:i ḍị:ma gạ:, camraṅ gạ:, mị:ja gạ: pho:bari gạ: saṅjyo,
   Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet,
yongi chya:ri jyạbu ke:saṅ cu:syi gạ: saṅjyo, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet,
jyạbu ke:saṅgi khai ḍị:ma gạ: saṅjyo, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet,
jyạbu ke:saṅgi lạ:i ḍị:ma gạ: saṅjyo, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet,
jyạbu ke:saṅgi luwa-bụwa gạ: saṅjyo, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet.

họ:, incense, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet!,
for purifying the mouth's impurity (clinging to) the "pure invitation"
   (and to) the people,
(I) have incensed, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet [henceforth: JMR],
for purifying the hand's impurity (clinging to) the "pure invitation"
   (and to) the people, (I) have incensed, JMR,
keeping in the left hand a pretty cock, (I) have incensed, JMR,
(I) have incensed the mouth's impurity of the pretty cock, JMR,
(I) have incensed the leg's impurity of the pretty cock, JMR,
(I) have incensed the the downy feathers of the pretty cock, JMR.

NOTES:
- While reciting this section, the performer holds the cock in his left and the censer in his right hand.
- saṅsyu, 'incense' as a general term, cf. saṅba in text 1,1.
- camraṅ was translated by the informants as the equivalent of N. cokho nimto, lit. 'pure invitation' = the offerings.
- mị:ja < MT mị:, 'man', here with reference to the participants; the function of -ja is not clear to me in this context.
- gạ: is a padding for the sake of rhythm. For the same reason, the name of the clan god is pronounced "Jyạṅjyene Mạrabo...".
- pho:bari, 'in order to affect', < pho:ba, lit. 'to affect', cf. text 1,6. The "purifying the impurities" is SB's wording.

- saṅjyo seems to be an OT equivalent of the MT past perfect saṅjyi.
- yongi chya:ri, 'in the left hand'; OT yon < Tib. gyon, 'left'.
- ke:saṅ ? < Tib. *skye-bzaṅ, '(of) auspicious birth'.
- luwa-bụwa, here I have preferred to translate the expression, as it does not refer to a specifically prepared sacrificial share, cf. text 1,37.

3.

syịne-syịmrol camraṅ gạ:, mị:ja gạ: pho:bari gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
syạljye, dụcce camraṅ gạ:,mị:ja gạ: pho:bari gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
chejaṅ gạ:, dụcce gạ: camraṅ gạ:, mị:ja gạ: pho:bari gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
tormoi torsyol, brọmoi brọsyol gạ: cu:syi gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
tormoi torsyolgi ḍị:ma-ḍịbjyuṅ gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi khai ḍị:ma-ḍịbjyuṅ gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi khaṅsa nạṅḍi rạwar-ruṅgur jẹppari gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi khaṅsa nạṅḍi dạro-puṅro jẹppari gạ: saṅjyo, JMR.

For purifying the syịne-syịmrol (of) the "pure invitation", the people,
(I) have incensed, JMR,
for purifying the syạljye, the dụcce (of) the "pure invitation", the people,
(I) have incensed, JMR,
for purifying the chejaṅ, the dụcce (of) the "pure invitation", the people,
(I) have incensed, JMR,
preparing the torsyol of the tormo, the brọsyol of the brọmo,
(I) have incensed, JMR,
the impurity of the torsyol of the tormo, (I) have incensed, JMR,
the impurity of (my) own mouth, (I) have incensed, JMR
for being protected and guarded in (our) own homestead,
(I) have incensed, JMR,
for getting strength and assistance in (our) own homestead,
(I) have incensed, JMR.

NOTES:

- syạljye, 'an offering of fried meat/fish/egg', < Tib. šal-zas, 'food', 'dish'.
- dụcce, 'an offering of beer', < Tib. bdud-rci, 'ambrosia'.
- chejaṅ, 'an offering of beer', < Tib. che-čhaṅ, 'beer of life'. In most of the texts: chejan-dụcce, as a compound.
- ḍị:ma-ḍịbjyuṅ (cf. text 1,7), here with reference to the impurity transferred to

the offerings by those who have prepared them.

- daṛo-puṅro, here as a compound, cf. text 1,2.

4.

mei lamo Gọigar Ḍọ́lmo gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
phu:i lamo Alen Dẹwa gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi khaṅsa nạṅḍi rạwar-ruṅgur jẹppari gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi khaṅsa nạṅḍi dạro-puṅro jẹppari gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
sergi ḍạleṅ syí: gạ: saṅjyo, JMR
sergi paṅlep syí: gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi khaṅsa nạṅḍi rạwar-ruṅgur jẹppari gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
mràbgi lamo Gọmosyi: Rá:ñ̃i gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
dọi lamo Akam.bạndi gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
luṅgi lamo Dạmjyi Dólmo gạ: saṅjyo, JMR.

The goddess of the fire, Gọigar Ḍólmo, (I) have incensed, JMR,
the goddess of the fire-place, Alen Dẹwa, (I) have incensed, JMR,
for being protected and guarded in (our) own homestead,
(I) have incensed, JMR,
for getting strength and assistance in (our) own homestead,
(I) have incensed, JMR,
the four golden beams, (I) have incensed, JMR,
the four golden shingles, (I) have incensed, JMR,
for being protected and guarded in (our) own homestead,
(I) have incensed, JMR,
the goddess of the door, Gọmosyi: Rá:ñ̃i, (I) have incensed, JMR,
the goddess of the courtyard, Akam.bạndi, (I) have incensed, JMR,
the goddess of the wind, Dạmjyi Ḍólmo, (I) have incensed, JMR.

NOTES:

- The names of the divinities of the different parts of the house differ somewhat from those in text 1,10 and 11: Gọmosyi: Rá:ñ̃i versus Gọmosyi: Rá:ja (N. rānī, 'queen', versus N. rājā, 'king') and Akam.bạndi versus Akam.bạ:ri. The luṅgi lamo is new here, ? < Tib. rluṅ-gyi lha-mo.

5.

rạṅgi khaṅsa nạṅḍi chalam khe:ba wa: bịsyi gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi khaṅsa nạṅḍi bụlam khe:ba wa: bịsyi gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
nẹggi (nẹdgi) chamjo sẹṅbari gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
brị:la họṅsum temba wa: bịsyi gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
nọrla yaṅsum temba wa: bịsyi gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,

Wondering whether the great-grandchildren in (our) own homestead
will be able-bodied, (I) have incensed, JMR,
wondering whether the grandchildren in (our) own homestead
will be able-bodied, (I) have incensed, JMR,
for binding the illness, (I) have incensed, JMR,
wondering whether (you) will keep the crop's blessing,
(I) have incensed, JMR,
wondering whether (you) will keep the riches' blessing,
(I) have incensed, JMR.

NOTES:

- chalam, the compound idiom chalam-bụlam is disjoined here, and I follow the informants in translating chalam and bụlam as separate words. OT chalam-bụlam is usually rendered by 'descendants' or 'son's son and son's son's son'. chalam < Tib. cha, 'grandchild'; bụlam < Tib. bu, 'son'.
- khe:ba wa:, pronounced [khe:ũwa:] on the tape, < MT khe:ba, 'to be skilled', 'to be wise', < Tib. mkhas-pa, 'skilled', + MT wa:, an interrogative particle. The actual translation is based on SB's suggestion.
- bịsyi (OT), lit. 'saying'.

6.

hạ:y, tembai la Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo!,
gyábna dạro sọṅo, ṅònna puṅro sọṅo,
brị:gi họṅ tempino, nọrgi yaṅ tempino,
khala sẹ: tempino, lạ:la nọr tempino,
tembai la, chya:.jalo!

hạ:y, Clan God Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo!,
at the back, make (us) strong, ahead, give (us) assistance,
keep the crop's blessing, keep the riches' blessing,
keep the mouth's food, keep the riches of the hand,
Clan God, Hail!

7.

họ:, saṅsyu, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet!,
Ui Yạla Sowa nạṅḍi gạ: saṅmam yạ:jyen nórbu gạ: cu:syi gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
dạṅbo Mème Họserjye gạ: gạṅsaṅ gạ: saṅmam saṅjyo, JMR,
Bọ.kham yụlḍi bạpla gạ: jẹpmam lúgu karbo cu:syi gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
Rọṅgai yụlḍi bạpla gạ: jẹpmam jyạbu ke:saṅ cu:syi gạ: saṅjyo, JMR,
dạṅbo Mème Yụlsapjye gạ: gạṅsaṅ gạ: saṅmam saṅjyo, JMR
dạṅbo Mème Lharkotjye gạ: gạṅsaṅ gạ: saṅmam saṅjyo, JMR,
nẹggi ma:lo ló:bari gạ: gạṅsaṅ gạ: saṅmam saṅjyo, JMR
rịngi chamjo sẹṅbari gạ: gạṅsaṅ gạ: saṅmam saṅjyo, JMR,
chalam khe:ba wa: bịsyi gạ: gạṅsaṅ gạ: saṅmam saṅjyo, JMR,.......

họ:, incense, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet!,
when incensing in Ui Yạla Sowa, it was in preparing (the sacrifice of)
a yak that (Grandfather Họser) incensed, JMR,
in old times, it was in incensing gạṅsaṅ (=?) that Grandfather Họser
incensed, JMR,
when coming down to Bọ.kham country, it was in preparing (the sacrifice of)
a white sheep that (the ancestors) incensed, JMR,
when coming down to Rọṅga country, it was in preparing (the sacrifice of)
a pretty cock that (Grandfather Yụlsap) incensed, JMR,
in old times, it was in incensing gạṅsaṅ that Grandfather Yụlsap
incensed, JMR,
in old times, it was in incensing gạṅsaṅ that Grandfather Lharkot
incensed, JMR,
for averting the "arrow" of illness, (the ancestors) incensed, JMR,
for binding the epidemics, (the ancestors) incensed, JMR,
wondering whether the great-grandchildren will be able-bodied,
(the ancestors) incensed, JMR,....

NOTES:

- Ui Yạla Sowa = Uiseme is the starting point of Tamang mythical history. The different animals associated with the places mentioned here indicate different stages of ecological adaptation, as the informants pointed out.
- Grandfather (mème), here 'ancestor'(in the male line).
- gạṅsaṅ = ?. One informant assumed a link with MT gạṅ, 'mountain'; or ? < Tib. khaṅ-bzaṅs, 'abode of gods' (cf. Jäschke 1949: 38, 496).
- bạpla(gạ:)jẹppa = hon. of OT bạppa (MT phappa), 'to descend', 'to come down', cf. text 1,35.
- ma:lo ló:bari, 'for averting/in order to avert the "arrow"...', ? < Tib. *dmag-log(-pa) zlog-pa, 'to cause to return the returning host (of illness)', that is, 'to avert the evil that has been averted by others and came upon us'? Cf. also ma: lo:ba in text 4, Introduction and ma:lo in text 3,1.

Following the same sentence pattern, a number of further ancestors are mentioned by name: Bạrsyiṅ, Ḍ̤ạ:bal, Mài̇syiṅ, Chore, Lore, Thami, Dụrgu, Sàkha, Gẹnjen, Dhạnapati, Phàisyiṅ, Waṅ, Chiriṅ, Sùnda:s, and finally the performer's own father: ṅai yáp.

Họser is said to be the ancestor of all Western Tamang now settling to the West of the Trisuli river, including the area of my investigation. The ancestors of the Western Tamang separated from the ancestors of the Eastern Tamang, according to one informant, in Mạmdi, a place somewhere in South Tibet, and as a consequence of the incest of a grandson with his grandmother. — Lharkot is said to have established the worship of the clan god in its present form, and one informant went as far as to derive lharkot from la (lha), 'god', 'divinity', + kòppa (kòt-pa), 'to build', hence 'to establish'.

Ḍ̤ạ:bal married his daughter to a Ghale, and the latter persuaded his Tamang wife to steal her father's clan god. In reality, she only stole one of the cocks reserved for the ceremony and the tormo of Ḍ̤ạbla. In the ensuing quarrel, Ḍ̤ạ:bal won, and his victory was first announced by the raven; since then, a share of the tormos is due to this bird. The informant who told me this story, connected the "ḍ̤ạ:, ḍ̤ạ:" in the raven's croaking with the verb ḍ̤ạ:ba, 'to win', and the latter with the name Ḍ̤ạ:bal. No Tamang partakes of the meat of the raven, and no member of the Mạmba clan is allowed to kill it. — Gẹnjen had been the first settler in Cautārā, where the present ceremony was recorded.

The recitation goes on as follows:

8.

hạ:y, rạṅgi tembai la Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo,
nẹggi chamjo sẹṅpino, rịngi chamjo sẹṅpino,
rạwar jẹppino,
khaṅsa, syịṅsa nạṅḍi dạro-puṅro jẹppino!,
yekki bạmḍi teṅba, yongi bạmḍi teṅba,
gyábnam cya:gi rạwa sọṅo, ṅònnam sạṅgi rạwa sọṅo,
dạ:bo, dạ:mo ñiṅda gạyaṅ gạba jẹppino!,
chya:.jạlo!

hạ:y, our Clan God Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo,
bind the illness, bind the epidemics,
protect (us),
in the homestead, in the fields, make strong, assist (us)!
(I) toss (you) on the right shoulder, toss (you) on the left shoulder,
at the back, give (us) the protection of iron, ahead, give (us) the
protection of copper,
provide happiness to the dear master (and) mistress (of the house)!,
Hail!

NOTES:

- bạmḍi teṅba, '...toss on the shoulder', seems to be a variant of the metaphor gyábna lị:jye khurba, ṅònna chya:jye teṅba, cf. text 1,19.

9.

The performer now proceeds to the libation. He forms a pipe, called sòli (cf. text 1,9), from a leaf of the sal tree and dips it repeatedly into the beer in front of him while reciting sections 9 and 10.

o.họmo, lápjyemo, Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet!,
dạṅbo Mème Họserjye gạ: lápjyemmam lápjyenjyo, JMR,
Ui Yạla Sowa nạṅḍi gạ: lápjyemmam lápjyenjyo, JMR,
yạ:jyen nórbu gạ: cu:syi gạ: lápjyemmam lápjyenjyo, JMR,
Bọ.kham yụlḍi gạ: bạpla gạ: jẹpmam lúgu karbo cu:syi gạ:
lápjyemmam lápjyenjyo, JMR,

dạṅbo Mème Gạṅserjye gạ: lápjyemmam lápjyenjyo, JMR,
nẹggi chamjo sẹṅbari gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
Rọṅga yụlḍi bạpla gạ: jẹpmam jyạbu ke:saṅ cu:syi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
jyạbu ke:saṅ daṅ lúgu karboi luwa-bụwa cu:syi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
tormoi torsyol cu:syi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
brọmoi brọsyol cu:syi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
chejaṅ-dụcce gạ: cu:syi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR
syịne-syịmrol cu:syi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi khaṅsa nạṅḍi gạ: rạwar jẹppari gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
pheraṅ chamjo sẹṅbari gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,.....

o.họmo (=?), lápjyemo (=?), Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo Rạbujyet!,
when, in old times, Grandfather Họser invited (you) - (he) invited (you), JMR,
when (he) invited (you) in Ui Yạla Sowa - (he) invited (you), JMR -,
it was in preparing (the sacrifice) of a yak that (he) invited (you), JMR,
when coming down to Bọ.kham country, it was in preparing (the sacrifice of)
a white sheep that (Grandfather Gạṅser) invited (you), JMR,
when Grandfather Gạṅser invited (you) - (he) invited (you), JMR -,
for binding the illness, (he) invited (you), JMR,
when coming down to Rọṅga country, it was in preparing (the sacrifice of)
a pretty cock that (the ancestors) invited (you), JMR,
together with the pretty cock, it was in preparing the downy wool of
the white sheep that (the ancestors) invited (you), JMR,
in preparing the torsyol of the tormo (they) invited (you), JMR,
in preparing the brọsyol of the brọmo (they) invited (you), JMR,
in preparing the chejaṅ-dụcce (they) invited (you), JMR,
in preparing the syịne-syịmrol (they) invited (you), JMR,
for being protected in (their) own homestead (they) invited (you), JMR,
for binding (the danger) outside (the house they) invited (you), JMR,.....

NOTES:

- o.họmo ? < họmo in text 4,3.
- lápjyemo apparently < lápjyemba, but morphologically unclear.
- lápjyemba = a corruption of la ḍẹmba, 'to invite a divinity', according to SB, and thus identical in meaning with cyen ḍẹmba < Tib. spyan 'dren-pa, 'to invite'.
- lápjyemmam lápjyenjyo, lit. 'while inviting invited'. The construction durative + past seems to have an emphatic function.
- "downy wool" = in remembrance of the former sacrifice of a sheep, the cock's comb has to be decorated with some wool.
- pheraṅ, lit. 'above'. The ideal North-South orientation of the house given, the

term pheraṅ means 'behind' = 'above (the house)', whereas the courtyard would be dịraṅ, 'below', which is not mentioned.

Following the same sentence pattern (section 9), the names of ancestors are enumerated as indicated above in section 7, including the performer's own father. The performer then goes on:

10.

bọngi bọnsur ló:bari gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
làma(i) ñẹmbi chesur ló:bari gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
saṅduṅ-praṅduṅ ló:bari gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
yèrmai dạ ló:bari gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi khaṅsa nạṅḍi rạwar jẹppari gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
kekki chya:ri mẹloṅ sombo gạ: bạrba wa: bịsyi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
yongi chya:ri chyudaṅ sombo gạ: khilba wa: bịsyi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
rạṅgam cheba wa: bịsyi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
mịgam phamla gạ: jẹppa wa: bịsyi gạ: lápjyenjyo, JMR,
rạṅgi tembai la Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo!

For averting the bọn's magic weapon, (I) have invited (you), JMR,
for averting the lama's harming magic weapon, (I) have invited (you), JMR,
for averting the saṅduṅ-praṅduṅ, (I) have invited (you), JMR,
for averting the (magic) arrow (made) of yèrma wood, (I) have invited
(you), JMR,
for being protected in (our) own homestead, (I) have invited (you), JMR,
wondering whether in (our) right hand the flame will blaze,
(I) have invited (you), JMR,
wondering whether in (our) left hand the sea-water will whirl,
(I) have invited (you), JMR,
wondering whether oneself (ourselves) will overcome, (I) have invited
(you), JMR,
wondering whether (you) will suppress the other one(s), (I) have
invited (you), JMR,
our Clan God Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo!

NOTES:
- bọngi < OT bọn = MT bọmbo
- bọnsur/bọnsor < bọn + sur as in chesur and ñẹnsur in text 1,13.
- kekki < MT ked = OT yed, 'right'.
- mẹloṅ/mẹluṅ < Tib. me-loṅ, 'mirror', hence 'light'?; or < Tib. me-liṅ, 'flame' (cf. Jäschke 1949: 417).
- sombo, lit. 'living', 'life-time' (Tib. gson-po), remains untranslated as part of an idiom, namely of mẹloṅ and chyudaṅ.
- bạrba (OT) < Tib. 'bar-ba, 'to burn', 'to blaze'.
- chyudaṅ < Tib. ćhu, 'water', + ?.
- khilba (in MT also of the dense growth of plants and roots) < Tib.'khyil-ba, 'to wind', 'to whirl'. — The blazing fire and the mass of water stand for the strength by which one's enemy will be frightened, according to the informants.
- phamla.jẹppa (disjoined by the padding gạ:) = OT hon. of phamba < Tib. 'pham-pa, 'to be beaten', 'pham-par byed-pa, 'to defeat'.
- raṅgam < Tib, raṅ, 'self'.
- mịgam, 'the other one' < T. mị:, 'man', 'person', 'the other one(s)'.

This section ends with a prayer for rawa, roughly identical with section 1.

11.

The performer now leaves the house and on entering the courtyard he throws the cock up into the air, shouting:

làggelo, Mème Gẹsum!

Victory, Grandfather Gẹsum!

NOTES:
- làggelo/làggyalo < Tib. lha rgyal-lo, 'victory to the gods!'
- Gẹsum is said to be the "name" of the cock (?).

It is regarded as a good omen, i.e., as a sign that the clan god has accepted the cock, if the latter flies on to the roof of the house.

12.

Now the Chyo:la tormo is brought from the house and fixed on to one of the poles of the fence between the courtyard and the kitchen-garden. The performer invites the raven:

syò:, agu jyạra nạkpo, syò:!

Come, Father's Brother Black Raven, come!

NOTES:

- syò: < Tib. śog, 'come!'.
- agu jyạra (OT) < agu (MT àgren), 'father's brother', + Tib. bya-rog, 'crow', 'raven'.

13.

Back in the house, the performer recites, facing the "altar":

hạ:y, chya:.jạlo!,
khaṅsa ne:go, syịṅsa ne:go, tembai la Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo!,
kekki bạmḍi teṅba, yongi bạmḍi teṅba,
gạyaṅ gạpino,
nẹd pharasya:go, rịn pharasya:go,
syinḍe, sẹnḍẹ pharasya:pino!

hạ:y, Hail!,
dwell in the homestead, dwell in the fields, clan god Jyạṅjyen Mạrbo!,
(I) toss (you) on the right shoulder, toss (you) on the left shoulder,
provide happiness!,
remove the illness, remove the epidemics!,
remove the syinḍe, sẹnḍe!

NOTES:

- syinḍe, 'malevolent ghost', < Tib. śi-'dre, 'ghost of a person who died a violent death' (cf. Tucci 1970: 207; and Jest 1975: 371 with reference to Dolpo).
- sẹnḍe/sạnḍe, 'ghost of a bọmbo/lấmbu/lầma/saṅduṅ', < Tib. za-'dre, lit. 'eating demon' (cf. also Waddel 1959: 494).

Here, the prayer for protection and strength (section 1) is repeated, and the recitation ends with the request:

14.

brá:ri dọ:na cima cu:go, chyuri dọ:na samba kòppino!,
chya:.jạlo!

When reaching the steep slope, provide steps (hewn on the slope), when reaching the water, erect a bridge!,
Hail!

NOTES:

- brá:ri dọ:na, chyuri dọ:na is, with the exception of the suffix -na and the OT chyu, modern Tamang. Cf. the OT brá:la ḍọna, chyula ḍọna in text 3,2. In the present recitation text, the OT/Tib. -la has been replaced by MT -ri (locative and terminative), and OT ḍọba (< Tib. 'gro-ba), 'to walk', by MT dọ:ba, 'to arrive'.
- kòppino < OT kòppa < Tib. 'god-pa, 'to build', + MT pimba.

The tormos are laid on their backs and eaten by the participants. The Artemisia twig, that was stuck into the tormo no. 1, is now inserted between the ceiling and one of the cross-beams in the kitchen-cum-living-room. The maize, rice and wheat grains (syịne-syịmrol) on the bamboo-tray are carefully collected and poured into the granary on the second floor. They are believed to convey the blessing (họṅ and yaṅ) they "absorbed" through their consecration in the ceremony to the grain stored in the granary, cf. also text 1,2.

A NOTE ON THE MẠMBA CLAN GOD RITUAL IN BHOKTENI

Practically every family or lineage of the Mạmba clan has its own ritual and recitation. In SB's house in Bhokteni, it is his elder brother who performs the ceremony, as the father has long since died, and as there are no near paternal uncles. The set of *tormos* is fairly different from what has been described above with regard to Cautārā. In Bhokteni, nine *tormos* are prescribed, among them one of the *syịbda*, one of Temba Cuṅne (cf. text 1,10) and two called Chyò:syi-Lìṅsyi (cf. text 1,16). The *tormo* of Ḍạbla has — in contradistinction to that of Ḍạbla in Cautārā — nine *brọsyols* symbolizing the nine hair-locks (*brọṅdo*) this divinity is believed to have. On Maṅgsir Purṇimā, the *tormos* are made of rice-flour, on Jeṭh Purṇimā of wheat-flour.

The cock is required to have a "bushy", crown-like comb with many small prongs which are not in one line; these prongs are also called *brọṅdo*. — The cock must be presented to the clan god three times, that is, on three successive full-moon days over one and a half years.

Instead of incense from the bazaar, the *syiṅne na:jo* (cf. text 1,5) is burnt. — The raven's rôle in the ritual is justified differently: it was in listening to its croaking "ḍạblek, ḍạblek" that the ancestors discovered the name of their clan god, namely Ḍạbla.

The text of the recitation is different from the one recorded in Cautārā in that it does not include a section referring to the libation and in that it addresses the clan god as "dọṅbo chyembo ḍạlna kuibi, yùṅba chyembo ḍạlna kuibi Manuwa Ḍạble'(sic!) = 'the Manuwa Ḍạble (=Ḍạbla) who annihilates the great tree, annihilates the large stone'. The fierce aspect of Ḍạbla is also underscored by the repeated bid: Ḍạbla may cut out one's enemy's heart, cut down his "life-beam" (*ro.duṅma*) and consider his corpse an offering (*syabut*, *ṭha:but*).

APPENDIX: RITUAL AND TIME
ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE LIFE-CYCLE CEREMONIES AND THE ANNUAL CYCLE OF RITUALS

The life-cycle ceremonies

The most important life-cycle ceremonies are

- the *nàmjyuṅ* or *nwāran*, that is the purification of the mother and her baby after childbirth, connected with the name-giving ceremony;
- the *chyèwar* or first shaving of a boy;
- the marriage ceremony; and
- the *grạl* or death-feast.

As three of them have already been briefly explained (cf. pp. 30 f., 33), suffice it here to make a few more additional remarks.

The example of the marriage ceremony neatly illustrates the significant rôle kinsmen may play in rituals — without or in conjunction with religious specialists. The Hindu marriage as practised by the higher Indo-Nepalese castes culminates in integrating the bride into the bridegroom's descent group, and it binds the wife definitely to her husband in so far as she cannot be remarried with full rites as a widow or divorcee. Tamang marriage has no sacramental character of this kind; it is a process rather than an act, which aims at creating or renewing an alliance, in the genuine sense of the word, between two lineages or families.

For high-caste Hindus, it is an honour to "give away a virgin" (*kannyādān*) in marriage; for the Tamang, it is an honour to receive a wife (whether she is a virgin or not). Tamang marriage implies a gradual integration of the wife into her husband's family, but not her integration into the latter's descent group: when she dies, her ashes are handed over to the representatives of her parental home. A union is sanctioned by a series of ceremonially framed prestations between "wife-givers" and "wife-takers", and so the last stage of the marriage ceremony, which can be regarded as the marriage ceremony proper, often happens to be performed at the death-feast for a woman of a grandmother's age. This ritual is called *woṅde* and takes place in in the wife's parental home. In it, the husband is assisted by the "wife-takers" of his own family (= DaHu/SiHu) while presenting his prestations to the "wife-givers", i.e., his parents-in-law. However, the presence of one's "wife-givers" and "wife-takers" is required in other life-cycle ceremonies, too:

While the "wife-takers" are obliged to serve (help) and/or to take on the impur-

A NOTE ON THE MẠMBA CLAN GOD RITUAL IN BHOKTENI

Practically every family or lineage of the Mạmba clan has its own ritual and recitation. In SB's house in Bhokteni, it is his elder brother who performs the ceremony, as the father has long since died, and as there are no near paternal uncles. The set of *tormos* is fairly different from what has been described above with regard to Cautārā. In Bhokteni, nine *tormos* are prescribed, among them one of the *syịbda*, one of Temba Cuṅne (cf. text 1,10) and two called Chyò:syi-Lìṅsyi (cf. text 1,16). The *tormo* of Ḍạbla has — in contradistinction to that of Ḍạbla in Cautārā — nine *brọsyols* symbolizing the nine hair-locks (*brọṅdo*) this divinity is believed to have. On Maṅgsir Purṇimā, the *tormos* are made of rice-flour, on Jeṭh Purṇimā of wheat-flour.

The cock is required to have a "bushy", crown-like comb with many small prongs which are not in one line; these prongs are also called *brọṅdo*. — The cock must be presented to the clan god three times, that is, on three successive full-moon days over one and a half years.

Instead of incense from the bazaar, the *syiṅne na:jo* (cf. text 1,5) is burnt. — The raven's rôle in the ritual is justified differently: it was in listening to its croaking "ḍạblek, ḍạblek" that the ancestors discovered the name of their clan god, namely Ḍạbla.

The text of the recitation is different from the one recorded in Cautārā in that it does not include a section referring to the libation and in that it addresses the clan god as "dọṅbo chyembo ḍạlna kuibi, yùṅba chyembo ḍạlna kuibi Manuwa Ḍạble" (sic!) = 'the Manuwa Ḍạble (=Ḍạbla) who annihilates the great tree, annihilates the large stone'. The fierce aspect of Ḍạbla is also underscored by the repeated bid: Ḍạbla may cut out one's enemy's heart, cut down his "life-beam" (*ro.duṅma*) and consider his corpse an offering (*syabut*, *ṭha:but*).

APPENDIX: RITUAL AND TIME
ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE LIFE-CYCLE CEREMONIES AND THE ANNUAL CYCLE OF RITUALS

The life-cycle ceremonies

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While the "wife-takers" are obliged to serve (help) and/or to take on the impurities, for example, by cremating the corpses of their "wife-givers", the "wife-givers" bestow status and/or restore the purity of their "wife-takers". This status- and purity-bestowing task is clearly manifested by the binding of a turban (or putting a Nepali cap) on the head of a nephew by his mother's brother during the former's chyèwar. At the death-feast, too, a mourner is freed from the "impurity of death" (du: < Tib. sdug-pa, 'distress') when his wife's or mother's father (real or classificatory) binds a turban on his head.

Life-cycle ceremonies thus anticipate or conclude a matrimonial alliance in a certain sense. And because this is so, the activities of kinsmen in them are as important as, or in some cases even more important than, those of the ritual specialists. At the marriage ceremony, the lámbu is the only specialist active, but his standard exorcism, even though indispensable, is not an organic part and has no direct reference to the marriage itself. Similarly, the bọmbo's presence at chyèwar is only required when this ceremony is connected with the kòla phappa (cf. p. 33). Otherwise it is now entirely the responsibility of kinsmen.

The only life-cycle ceremony in which ritual specialists, namely the lamas, and kinsmen organically cooperate by supplementing each other's activities is the death-feast. Here, the eschatology of a high-religion (Lamaism) and the kinship-oriented world-view of an essentially tribal heritage have become amalgamated.*

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* I hope to publish the field material on the death-feast in a separate work.

The annual cycle of rituals and festivals

Taxonomically speaking, three Tamang terms indicate that the Present has had a Beginning and will have an End. The word *tachye-mịchye:* denotes the primordial time when the world was created and the socio-religious institutions of the present were founded; *dạṅbo* is the remote past or the historical past; and *limi-lipsuṅ* is used in the sense of 'end of time' or 'remote future'. As to the latter, I was unable to trace any relevance of it to the concepts of the folk-religion.

For the Present, two systems of time-reckoning exist side by side. There is a distinction between the *akhe cidaṅ* (T.), 'the ancestors' calendar', on the one hand, and the *pātro* (N.), the Nepalese calendar (with its various editions), on the other. But in practice, only few people know which rule follows from which of these two systems.

A Tamang indicates his age by reckoning in the twelve-year cycle (*lẹ:gor* < Tib. *lo-skor*) of the Tibetan calendar. Every year and every day bears the Tibetan name of one of the well-known twelve animals, and the cycle of these animals starts with the mouse and ends with the hog. The twelve-day cycle has been adjusted to the Nepalese calendar in that it starts on the 1st, 13th and 25th day and is interrupted on the 30th or 31st day of every month — to re-start on the 1st of the next month. For the months the corresponding Nepali names are used. The cycles of twelve also serve as a basis for calculating the dates which are inauspicious for an individual, for example, the two subsequent days, months and years that follow the day, month and year of his birth. The sixty-year cycles of the Tibetan calendar, resulting from a combination of the 12 animals with the 5 elements, are unknown among the laymen. When referring to an event in the past they only indicate in which animal's month and how many twelve-year cycles ago it took place.

The annual cycle of rites and festivals now follows the Nepalese calendar, the main points of orientation being the full-moon days, *purne* or *purṇimā* (N.). These full-moon days must not necessarily fall, in the Tamang reckoning, in the month of which they bear the name.

1. Baisākh Purne in the month of Cait or Baisākh, generally in April:

(a) The main worship of the *syịbda*, *ṣajyi* and *jyọmo* (cf. pp. 12 ff) in the presence of the whole village.

(b) Large crowds of young Tamang attend the Hindu fair (*jātrā*) at Dewighāṭ near Trisuli Bajār. Only a few of them, however, visit the sanctuary for worship; rather, the boys and girls gather in the streets of Trisuli Bajār and spend the time in singing and merry-making. Only the Tamang of the village of Lacyāṅg on the eastern bank of the Trisuli river take an active part in the ritual and carry the palanquin of the idol of Bhairawi Dewi. (For a description of the ritual cf. Wajrācārya and Śreṣṭha 2032: 109-113).

2. Jeṭh Purne, also called Gaiḍu Purne, in the month of Baisākh or Jeṭh, generally in May:

(a) The Gaiḍu Pujā (N.) is to ensure that the cattle thrive and is performed by the head of the household in his cattleshed. The recitation in Nepali is addressed to the vegetarian Gaiḍu (= Mahādew) and a carnivorous goddess called Pā̃c Kannyā ('Five Virgins') or Pā̃c Kāule Dewi ('Goddess of Pā̃c Kāule') or also Pā̃c Pāṇḍawa (!) (< the Five Pāṇḍava brothers of the Mahābhārata). The ceremony also includes a short invocation of the *syịbda-nè:da*. (On Gaiḍu cf. also Bista 1972: 81, 86 f.).

(b) The second *sajyi* worship.

3. Bhadau Purne in the month of Sāun or Bhadau, generally in August, is the date of the second *syịbda-nè:da* worship.

4. Dasāī̃, in September or October, is the greatest festival of the year, which the Tamang have adopted from their Hindu neighbours with some modifications. It consists of the following stages:

(a) On the 8th day, Astami, of the bright fortnight, buffaloes are sacrificed in the name of the village to the goddess Durgā and their heads are deposited in the houses of the *mukhiyās*.

(b) The 9th day, Nawami, is spent with one's married daughters and sisters who visit their parental homes and bring presents to their brothers and parents.

(c) The 10th day, Dasami, may in some villages begin with the chief *mukhiyā* giving the "holy mark", *ṭikā*, in the Hindu manner, to each of his villagers. In this *ṭikā* he is believed to convey the divine blessing the King has received in his own *ṭikā* from the Brahmins' hands (cf. Gaborieau 1978: 41-43). In the evening, some other villages perform the "death-feast of the heads" (*kra grạl*) of the buffaloes sacrificed two days before. This is a specifically Tamang addition to the Hindu Dasāī̃: In a long song, the origin of Dasāī̃ and its relevance for the Tamang ethnohistory is related in a perspective which is fairly different from the Hindu mythological background. At the same time, a *làma* or *lámbu* or *bọmbo* "catches" the divine blessing between his thumb and forefinger (cf. p. 34) and conveys it in a *ṭikā* of fresh butter to the participants. Finally, the villagers, men and women, dance in the courtyard of the chief *mukhiyā*'s house, asking various divinities for protection in songs arranged in playful and enigmatic verses.

(d) Dasāī̃ is also the time for individual sacrifices to certain Hindu divinities (cf. p. 22).

5. Tihār (Diwāli) in October or November is said to be a recently adopted festival. The Tamang of the fieldwork area only observe the 3rd, 4th and 5th days:

(a) On the 3rd day, many, but not all, households decorate their cows, oxen and buffaloes with flower-garlands and symbols of the sun and moon. (Hindus worship cows on the 3rd and oxen on the 4th day, but not the buffaloes, as far as I know). Groups of youngsters go around in the village, sing the well-known "deusire" songs in Nepali or Tamang and collect a few coins from every house. — The Lachmi (Lakṣmī) Pujā, celebrated by Hindus in this night for increasing one's wealth, is not performed, and only a few families light a lamp placed on a plate with some old coins.

(b) On the 4th and 5th days, brothers are entertained in the houses of their married sisters. Relatively few Tamang follow the Hindu custom of bhāi ṭikā in which sisters paste a ṭikā on to the foreheads of their brothers. As the Hindu mythological background is hardly known, this entertainment is viewed as a return of the visits the sisters paid to their brothers at Dasāī.(On Tihār in the Hindu context cf. also Anderson 1971: 164 ff.).

6. The Hindu fair in November/December at Gaṅgā-Jamunā between the Ā̃khu Kholā and the Buri Gaṇḍaki is attended by the Tamang bọmbos in the company of those of their clients who desire a son. The fair is said to have been established only about one hundred years ago.

7. Maṅgsir Purne, generally in November, is the date of the second Gaiḍu Pujā which is often coupled with a sacrifice to Piksu Máṅ and Cen Brá:, both, as is Gaiḍu, being responsible for the cattle (s. texts 2 and 3).

8. The Māgh Sakrā̃ti of the Nepalese calendar, generally in mid-January, is called Lọ.sa (< Tib. lo-gsar, 'new year') and is still reckoned as a date marking the beginning of a new year in the "ancestors' calendar". This is a day of rest, but to my knowledge, without any communal rites.

9. Phāgun Purne, generally in February, is the date of the third sajyi worship of the year, held just before the first sowing of maize.

10. The so-called Sānu Dasāī of the Nepalese in March or April is a day of rest on which individual sacrifices to Hindu divinities are performed.

Needless to say that a number of avoidances follow the calendar. To mention but a few, on every full-moon (purne) and new-moon day (aũsi) the floor around the fireplace must be plastered with a mixture of red clay and cow (or buffalo) dung and one has to refrain from ploughing. Or in the months of Cait, Jeṭh, Kārtik and Māgh one has to abstain from shaving one's head and from celebrating a betrothal, etc.

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